SOMERSET RELIGIOUS HOUSES

W. A. J. ARCHBOLD

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THE SOMERSET RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

BY

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CHIEF AUTHORITIES CONSULTED.

Printed.

Fa. Gasquet: Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries.

Hugo: Histories of Taunton, Cleeve, Muchelney, and the Nunneries of Somerset.

The Valor Ecclesiasticus.

The Histories of Fuller, Dodd, Dixon, Froude, Lingard, Speed, Collier, Burnet, Blunt.

Thorold Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages.

„ History of Agriculture and Prices.

„ Economic Interpretation of History.

Journal of the Statistical Society as referred to.

Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society.

Somerset Record Society's Publications.

Collinson and Phelps: Histories of Somerset.

Gairdner: Letters and Papers of the reign of Henry VIII.

The 7th and 8th Reports of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records.

Strype's works (Oxford Edition).

Fish's works.

Browne Willis's History of Mitred Abbeys (Hearne's Edition).

Leland's Itinerary and Collectanea (Hearne's Edition).

Harrison's Description of England (New Shakespeare Society).

Bath Field Club Proceedings.

Parker Society's Publications.

Wright: Three Chapters of Suppression Letters (Camden Society).

Ellis's Original Letters.

Fosbrooke's British Monachism.

Hearne's Walterus de Hemingburgh.
Monastic Treasures (Abbotsford Club).
Archaeologia.
Burn's Historical Dissertation on the Poor.
Nicholls, History of the Poor Law.
Eden's State of the Poor.
Stevens, Addenda to Dugdale.
Dugdale's Monasticon.
Tanner's Notitia Monastica.
A. Amos, Statutes of Henry VIII.
Works of Arth, Downame, Fitzherbert, Sir Thomas Smith.
Drane: Christian Schools and Scholars.
Fritz: Système d'instruction.
Compayré: History of Pedagogy.
Carlyle: Endowed Grammar Schools.
Cruise: Digest.
Burton: Monasticon Eboracum.
Wright: Tenures.
Milman: Latin Christianity.
Madox: Formulare.
Kennet: Impropriations.
Rockstro, Chappell, and Burney on Music.
Fergusson and Turner on Architecture.

MSS.

At the Record Office: Chiefly the Cromwell Correspondence, the Calendared Letters and Papers, and the Ministers' Accounts. A portion of Pole's Pension Book is printed.
At the British Museum: Chiefly MSS. Cotton, Cleopatra E. IV. Other MSS. as referred to.

ERRATA.

It is regretted that the three following do not appear in the text.

(*a*) A letter from the Prior of Bath to Cromwell, dated 7 Feb. 1537, giving an annuity of £5, thanking Cromwell for his goodness 'ageynst the *pr*euye and secrett synistre labo*ur*' made against the Prior, and asking that the brethren might have such liberty for recreation as the Glastonbury monks had. (R. O. Letts. and Papers Hen. VIII. XII. 360.)

(*b*) From Nicolas' proceedings of the Privy Council VII. 169, it appears that John Hillary a monk of Keynsham was committed to the Marshalsea, 7 April, 1541, because it was asserted that he had falsely accused the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations.

(*c*) In Acts of the Privy Council, 1547—50, p. 97, there is an interesting regulation as to the payment of pensions to dispossessed monks (9 June, 1547). It provides that where possible the monks shall come to the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations (no longer to the particular receiver) in person 'to be viewed whither they were the same persones to whome suche pencions were assigned.' If they cannot come in person they are to send a certificate, signed by two Justices or one Justice and a gentleman of reputation in the county, saying that the rightful person still lives there. This regulation is based in its preamble upon a fear of fraud, and refers to the Carthusians who had passed the sea and yet deputed friends to draw their pensions.

Page 5, line 15, *insert* 'to' *before* 'whose'
,, 21, ,, 3, *for* 'was' *read* 'were'
,, 23, lines 25 and 26, *omit* 'that' in each line
,, 26, line 18, *for* 'incubent' *read* 'incumbent'
,, 33, ,, 24, *for* 'p'or' *read* 'p*r*ior'
,, 41, ,, 10, *for* 'pu^{ce}' *read* 'publice'

Page 41, line 11, *for* 'pu^{cum}' *read* 'publicum'
,, 41, ,, 11, last two words, perhaps 'etc. perlectentur'
,, 41, ,, 34, *for* 'aucte' *read* 'auctoritate'
,, 42, ,, 5, *for* 'factorum' *read* 'factarum'
,, 53, ,, 5, *for* 'Bartyche' *read* 'Barlyche'
,, 99, For the connection between Montacute, its cells, and the Continent, cf. Sir George Duckett's *Visitations of the English Cluniac Foundations*.
,, 130, ,, 21, *for* 'redend*um* soluend*um* vel faciend*um*' *read* 'reden-d*am* soluend*am* vel faciend*am*'
,, 142, ,, 14, *for* 'Wapmyton' *read* 'Warmyton'
,, 142, ,, 24, *for* 'H*a*bend*um* et p*er*cipiend*um*' *read* 'H*a*bend*am* et p*er*cipiend*am*'
,, 155, At the side of the Account, *for* 'a*liorum*' *read* 'a*lia*'
,, 159, ,, ,, ,, *for* 'a*liorum*' *read* 'a*lia*'
,, 183, ,, 11, *for* 'p*er*tinen*tibus*' *read* 'p*er*tinen*ciis*'
,, 365, ,, 23, *for* liccuciam *read* licenciam

CHAPTER I.

The Somerset Houses and their Suppression.

The dissolution.

It is worthy of remark that the suppression of the religious houses in England, though accomplished with marvellous rapidity, whether we consider the importance of the change itself or the magnitude of the interests involved, was not effected at a blow. In fact the dissolution was spread out over a period of some fifteen years, a point which ought not to be lost sight of, as even that length of time probably gave such opportunity for preparation as prevented the shock being felt in all its force. But the statement that this great economic change was made rapidly only implies that the movement towards it had been slowly gathering force underground long before it appeared on the surface.

Precedents for suppression.

The legality of the acts of Henry or his ministers in the matter does not seem to have been doubted; perhaps because there had been many precedents for suppression[1]. These again were evidence of the

[1] Under William II., John, Edward II., Edward III. and Henry V. See Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, chaps. II. and III., and the Article in the *Home and Foreign Rev.* IV. p. 165. Hugo, *Hist. of Taunton Priory*, p. 111, seems to think that people were chary of buying monastic land on superstitious or other grounds, but Somerset does not confirm the view.

public opinion, at all events of the middle classes, on the subject. A papal bull had, it is true enough, always been thought necessary to license any interference with the orders; and with such Wolsey had fortified himself in diverting some portion of monastic revenues to the purposes of education[1], some years before the general dissolution of the smaller houses. But all suppressions which occurred previously to 1536 were of an entirely different character from those whose effects form the matter of this enquiry. They were grounded on the uselessness or bad conduct of certain small houses in Wolsey's case; and in the notable instance of the alien priories under Edward III. as on strong patriotic or economic contentions; they were moreover justified by a fairly unselfish disposition of the proceeds[2]. The causes which rendered the dissolution possible is a subject far too wide for discussion here[3]. It may suffice to say that unconscious advantage was taken of a general anti-monastic tendency in the middle and upper classes, to which must of course be added causes to be found in the state of the houses themselves and in their relation to the general social advancement of

[1] *Home and For. Rev.* IV. p. 169.

[2] Editor of Reeves's *History of English Law*, III, note to p. 249.

[3] The whole subject of the English dissolution is treated in the article in the *Home and Foreign Review* before referred to; at length, in Dixon's *History of the Church of England*, and later in Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*. That the general history has been so thoroughly treated by these and so many other writers must be the present writer's excuse for merely glancing at it.

England. There had certainly been a decline in the position of the houses, or rather they had not advanced with the rest of the kingdom. The larger had absorbed the smaller; the difficulties of wealthy absenteeism had been introduced; the old superiority of monastic agriculture was waning; monasteries were often subjected to petty annoyances by their neighbours. Their importance in a word had declined. Still one writer[1] thinks that as much money was left to the orders in the 14th and 15th centuries as before: but it certainly was distributed among fewer corporations; only some 700 were left, it seems certain, in Cromwell's time as compared with 1200 of three centuries before[2].

This question of the possibility of the dissolution makes prominent the helplessness of the lower classes, with whom the monks were popular. It also, if it is to be answered, involves some investigation of the relations between landlord and tenant, in which it may be stated that the monks were conservative and easy-going, though with important exceptions. This will be glanced at in a later chapter.

Motives for the suppression.

It is to be feared that the suppressions under Cromwell had different motives than the wish for reform. There seems some analogy to the Templars' case; the agents at all events were equally vile and untrustworthy. Any candid reader of the Visitors' Reports or what is left of them, without having any particular theory to support, will be reminded of the fable of the wolf and the lamb; it certainly seems

[1] See *Home and For. Rev.* IV. loc. cit.

[2] Dixon, I. p. 322.

as if the visitation had been undertaken to secure the suppression. Still it must be repeated that, as far as can be said of any act under the Tudors, the dissolution of the monasteries was ultimately a national act, distinctly authorized and again and again confirmed by both Houses of Parliament. This curious fact, though it may be only true of the upper and middle classes, cannot be explained by the theory of a temporary blaze of fanaticism.

The Visitation.

The general visitation of the houses which began in October 1535 was intimately connected with the royal supremacy, indeed Cromwell's appointment as vicar-general has been described by Canon Dixon as the putting of the new royal powers into commission. Visitations there had been before, but they had been episcopal and local; such had been Morton's visitation of St Alban's Abbey in 1487 or Wareham's efforts in 1511. Wolsey's visitation of 1523 had not much wider effects than these, or even aims. In the same year as the general visitation began, Cranmer also conducted a similar enquiry in his own province, but had to give way after some conflict had arisen[1].

It is probable that Cromwell had in 1535 designed a partial suppression. At all events it is difficult to read the letters of the visitors in any other sense[2].

[1] See on this point Dixon, I. p. 251, and the Introduction to Gairdner, *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* The general suspension of the bishop's powers was early seen to be necessary by the visitors of the vicar-general, Legh, and Ap Rice proposing the suspension (see G. IX. pref.).

[2] Lingard, v. p. 53, says that the dissolution was foretold at the time of Wolsey's fall.

That destruction was in the air is manifest from the Act forbidding new foundations as early as 21 Hen. VIII. The absurd notions of the wealth of the orders were spread far and wide by Fish[1]; what that wealth actually was might henceforth be known from the Valor Ecclesiasticus, a survey of the ecclesiastical property whose accuracy has been very generally admitted[2] although it was necessarily not complete. The multitude of local surveys shews that it was felt to be imperfect, or at all events not to have been universally relied on in the years following the suppression.

Thomas Cromwell.

The "English reign of terror," as Green picturesquely calls it, began with the reign of Cromwell, whose wonderful character cannot be denied a great superiority in the art of management; a man with more scruples would have been swept away in a moment. As things went in the sixteenth century he was not wanting in humanity. Like the Borgias he had certain objects to achieve, and if their attainment involved a certain number of executions, it was part of a system of policy; he seems from his letters to have generally cared little about ways and means. But if his conduct in the suppression times, and particularly when the northern rebellion was at its height, be considered it will be idle to deny him supreme ability. His industry, as can be gathered from his correspondence, was enormous. His avarice is perhaps doubtful, though there is some excuse, in spite of Green's explanation, for thinking that he

[1] *Supplication of the beggars.*

[2] See Hardy in the Pref. to the published edition of 1810.

was avaricious. The visitors at all events seem to have thought so.

Henry VIII.

Henry, whose new position seemed a satire on the Protestant doctrine of the sanctity of individual opinion, had many reasons for disliking the monks. They were possessed of a certain amount of property, and he was always in need. He was masterful and popular, and found in the orders great opposition to his royal supremacy. His opinions must have varied from time to time, just as his position varied with regard to dogma. At one time he seems to have contemplated partial suppression only. Guided by Cromwell he felt his way as time went on, but the strength of his passions made him uncertain. It was very difficult for people in remote parts of England to keep up with him, though they seem to have tried their best.

The Visitors.

The general visitation was conducted by Legh, Layton, Ap Rice, Gage, Bellasis, London and Sowell[1]. Of these we hear most of Legh and Layton, who paid two visits to Somerset. What manner of men, it may be asked, were Cromwell's deputies? It will suffice to speak of Legh and Layton.

Thomas Legh was young, fresh from Eton and King's College, Cambridge, and if we may trust the account of Ap Rice[2] 'of intolerable elation of mind.' He was a Doctor of Laws and a great favourite with Cromwell, in spite of all attempts to undermine his influence; the surest method of estimating the value of his testimony will be by reading the corre-

[1] Burnet, *Hist. of Ref.* I. p. 296; Collier, *Eccles. Hist.* IV. There were others, Tregonwell and Petre for instance.

[2] See Letter X.

spondence which follows. The result will probably be that he must be considered to be a pushing, vigorous man with no scruples whatever, ready to do what his master wished and very quick at perceiving what his master did wish, more so than Layton. His reward was large. He was made a Master in Chancery. Three monastic sites were made over to him and he was knighted[1], but his conduct at Sherburn Hospital[2], of which he was appointed master in 1535, shews that he was a hard cruel man, as indeed does his other conduct. Legh died in 1545[3]. Richard Layton says that he would never have been more than a basket-bearer but for his master's fostering care[4]. Unfortunately his career also was not such as to have deserved all the patronage he obtained[5]. As he practised like Legh in the Ecclesiastical Courts their names occur frequently together; and both are found in the "Calendars of Letters and Papers." Layton's 'sprightliness,' which makes his letters very readable, does not seem to have been suited to the duties he had to perform, or to have stood him in better stead than Legh's "satrapike countenance." Both were unpopular, as may be seen from their lives being demanded by the Pilgrims of Grace. Clerical benefices were showered upon Layton's head: he was rector of Stepney, held the livings of St Faith's and Harrow, from the latter of which he wrote many of his letters; he was also prebendary of Kentish Town, dean of Chester-le-Street, archdeacon of Bucks, and

[1] Dixon, II. p. 202. [2] See Gasq. I. p. 437, n.

[3] Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* I. 87. [4] See Letter XXIX.

[5] Layton's name is affixed to the 'Articles about Religion' preserved in MSS. Cotton. Cleop. E. V. 59.

finally retired in 1539 to the Deanery of York. While in the enjoyment of the last he appears to have made away with some of the church plate. He died at Brussels in 1544. The value of his evidence may be gauged from letter X.

These two with Tregonwell and Petre were concerned with Somerset. The visitation in both cases was but an incident in a busy life of a discreditable kind. Both were probably on the swearing commission, as Canon Dixon calls it; Legh assisted at the trial of Anne Boleyn, and afterwards had the credit of solving the Canterbury plot[1]; Layton was one of the divines who enquired into the validity of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Fuller[2] has summed up the matter in language which most people will agree with:—

"By this time [he says], the Instruments imployed by the Lord Cromwell, to make discovery of the vitious lives of Monks, and Fryers, were all returned in their persons, or in their intelligence sent unto him. They were men, who well understood the message they went on, and would not come back without a satisfactory answer to him that sent them, knowing themselves were likely to be no losers thereby. And now they had found out water enough to drive the mill, (besides what ran by) a sufficient detection to effect the businesse. Of these, some were put in commission to visit Abbeys, others moving in a lower, (but no lesse needfull) sphere of activity.

"Of these Commissioners the principal were Rich,

[1] Dixon, II. p. 338. In the same work, to which I am greatly indebted, particulars as to other visitors will be found. See also Cooper, *Athenae Cantab.* I. 84.

[2] *Eccl. Hist.* p. 314.

Layton, Tho. Legh, William Peters, Doctors of the law; Doctor John London, Dean of Wallingford. Of the three former I can say nothing, but finde the later (though imployed to correct others) no great saint himself. For afterwards he was publickly convicted of perjury, and adjudged to ride with his face to the Horse-tale at Windsor and Ockingham with papers about his head, which was done accordingly[1]."

It must be remembered that Fuller on the whole is unfavourable to the monks, as may be judged from his heading one of his sections "The generalitie of monasteries notoriously vitious."

The report of the Visitors.

A great part of England was traversed before February, 1536, when parliament, the parliament which dissolved the lesser monasteries, met. There seems to have been a regular scheme of visitation, as we gather from the instructions which were drawn up for the guidance of the visitors[2]. They may have followed these, but it is hardly reasonable to suppose that they did[3]. Their attention was concentrated on property, sexual offences, and what was roughly termed superstition. A list of monks who confessed to certain crimes, or were considered as guilty, was made out but it has in great part disappeared[4]; from it the celebrated Black Book is said to have been compiled. The matter is not free from

[1] Fuller, p. 314.

[2] These Instructions are preserved in the Cotton. MSS., and summarized in most histories of the time, Speed, &c. See Burnet, I. p. 297.

[3] See Legh's account of Layton, infra, Letter III.

[4] See Dixon's account of the Comperta, *History of the Church of England*, I. p. 341, n. Also for a criticism of its contents see Gasq. I. p. 325, et seq.

doubt but it need not concern anyone who is dealing with a single county; what we have to do with is the evidence which remains. This is contained in a great number of letters by which the visitors from time to time advised Cromwell of their proceedings, most of them being preserved in the Record Office, but some among the Cotton. MSS. at the British Museum. From these letters it appears that a good deal of financial business of an underhand character was transacted, as indeed will appear later, for which the deputies had every facility, in that one of the functions given them in their commission was that of enquiring into the repairs of the fabrics and similar matters of property.

The Act of 27 Hen. VIII.

Whether on good or bad evidence the Act of 27 Hen. VIII. was passed, giving to the king all the houses of a less yearly value than two hundred pounds. The stories as to the scenes in the debate in parliament must be received with suspicion; it was certainly a packed assembly[1] and careless of anything beyond the private interests of its members. There can have been no idea prevalent as to the political possibilities of the move, and once done it was fortunate for this country that Henry was ignorant of them also or too extravagant to take advantage of his position. With the fall of the lesser monasteries ends the first stage of the dissolution. Three hundred and seventy[2] houses or thereabouts were placed at the king's disposal. To administer their property the Court of Augmentations was created, which controlled an army of officials in various parts of the country.

[1] Gasq. I. p. 292.

[2] Hollingshead, *Chron.* III. p. 939.

Dissatisfaction produced by the means employed.

The general dissatisfaction which these suppressions produced found emphatic expression in the northern rising, and in a spirit of disaffection so universal as to force more moderate measures on the king. Even before the northern rising the commissions of visitation were altered[1] and new men of higher character, at all events of local influence, were added. Unfortunately only a small part of the new commissioners' report remains; but it probably did not give satisfaction, as in three counties at all events they could but mention one house requiring suppression[2]. The old kind of visitation was renewed. The greater houses, in addition to the annoyance this entailed, were burdened with the support of monks distributed among them after the fall of the lesser. They were harassed and bullied and robbed, but that by this time every thinking man knew what was intended is clear from a remark of the Bishop of London quoted by Burnet[3]. It is only fair to the monks to remember how much a man will confess to when he is thoroughly frightened; and where fright would not produce evidence which Layton thought to be enough bribery was freely resorted to.

The fall of the greater houses.

Suppression had proceeded throughout 1536; but the fall of the greater monasteries was gently and easily introduced after the quelling of the northern rebellion[4] which the northern foundations had favoured. Many were attainted; more went through the form of a free surrender[5]. All the houses in

[1] Dixon, I. p. 368. [2] Dixon, I. p. 370.

[3] See Grafton's *Chron.* ed. 1869, p. 1226. [4] Dixon, I. p. 497.

[5] For Somerset we have the following surrenders: Hinton, Keynsham, Montacute, Athelney, Bridgewater, Bruton, Taunton,

Somerset disappeared by 1540, a date that marks the second great stage in the suppression history.

The Chantries, Guilds &c.

The Church had now, if we include the annates, given up well-nigh all she had to give. An amount of property which if capitalized and reduced to our values has been estimated at forty or fifty million pounds[1] had passed into, and in great part out of, the king's hands. But the authority which had ripped the lead off the roofs of the finest buildings in the land for sale as old metal was not likely to be satisfied while there remained anything worth taking even in quasi-monastic hands. The third series of confiscations which the Church endured was far less

Wells; App. II., *Eighth Report of the Dep. Keeper of the Pub. Records*. As to the form two specimens from the Record Office are appended to this chapter.

[1] This is obtained from Blunt's estimate of the then value and Gasquet's idea of the comparison between the value in Henry VIII.'s time and our own; one, the latter thinks, being about one-tenth of the other. But this is not quite certain. Some even say that one-twentieth would be nearer the mark (Green, Pref. to *Som. Chantries*). After all it is best to say with Prof. J. Thorold Rogers (*J. of the Statis. Soc.* XXIV. p. 541), that it is difficult to estimate the value of *land* in the XVIth century in terms of our own time. We know how much pasture and arable fields brought in various places per acre from the Rental, but so many considerations ought to be added, as they would have to be to-day, that this really brings one very little nearer. Speaking generally of values Browne Willis (*Mitred Abbeys*, I. p. 109 note) multiplies by 20, Oldmixon by 10 (p. 92), to bring them up to their respective times. Obviously the former was an exaggerated view of the purchasing power of money. The confusion existing on the subject is marked by the difference of opinion as to the sufficiency of the pensions, but it is significant to note that the scheme for the future ordering of convents (one of many which remained untried) contained in Cleop. E. IV. of the Cotton MSS. fixes 40/- and diet as the annual provision for a monk.

justifiable than either of the two previous ones. It struck more cruelly at the comfort of the lower classes, and it was, in spite of all the guarding which the statute provided, a mighty inroad on private property.

Henry's life was not long enough to enable him to see the completion of his work by the ruin of the chantries and guilds; but an Act was passed just before his death appointing commissioners to enquire into their property in each county and to make a report. This commission came to nothing or practically so, and the part of the statute that vested all their possessions in the king was not put into general operation. The matter was in fact taken up afresh in the first year of king Edward VI.

The Valor of 27 Hen. VIII. had only very partially included chantries[1] and had not included colleges, guilds, fraternities, &c. at all. It appears that forewarned the owners of the smaller foundations began to sell and dispose of them in Henry's time and were only stopped by an Act of 1545. The commission which Henry appointed for Somerset and Dorset consisted of the Bishops of Bath and Bristol, Sir Giles Strangewaye more notably a Dorset than a Somerset man, Sir John Horsey, member of a very ancient border Somerset family from the Yetminster district, Thos. Denam, Esq., Robert Carye, Gent., of

[1] In Somerset, for instance, Maunde Roy appears in the *Valor* though really a chantry, but other fraternities, &c., are omitted. On the other hand there seemed a tendency to reckon Stavordale as a chantry, though valued in the *Valor* as a cell of Taunton Priory. Let it not be forgotten that a great deal of chantry property was concealed, as we know from later efforts to recover it for the crown.

the Castle Cary family, really a branch of the Carews, Roger Kentsey, gent.[1]. Such was the position of affairs at Henry's death.

Green has pointed out[2] the difference in point of view of the two Acts. That of the last year of Henry's reign based the dissolution of the chantries upon little beyond the fact of their being rich. The framers of the Act of 1 Edward VI. dwelt upon the religious side of the matter, denouncing them as the homes of superstition and making assertions amounting to promises as to education, and the care of the poor and preaching. Edward's Act appointed a new commission. The men for Somerset and Dorset were Thos. Speke, Hugh Poulett, John Rogers, John Seyntlow and Thos. Dyer, Kts., with Wm Moryce, Geo. Lyne, Rob. Keylway, Rob. Metcalff, John Hannan and Wm Hartegyll[3]; names which shew that the chief families of the county did not hold back from the Government's proceedings. These men were the authors of the famous Survey and Rental, a complete valuation of Somerset chantry property, to which they added notes as to the character of priests, number of communicants and church accommodation in various places. Frequent reference will be made to this report hereafter.

Such in brief is the general history of the dissolution. We must now turn more particularly to Somerset. The lists which follow will shew how very rich, considering its size and small importance, Somerset was in foundations of every sort. Not

[1] Green, *Som. Chantries*, Introd. p. v. [2] *Ibid.* p. vi.
[3] *Ibid.* p. viii.

only were they numerous, but they were very valuable; and not only were the revenues of the houses large, but the convents were in possession of buildings of extraordinary beauty. If the scanty remains of Cleeve, Glastonbury and Muchelney be examined with care some faint idea, but only a faint one, may be obtained how they must have improved the general aspect of the already beautiful county which contained them. Somerset at the dissolution had not only all those stately perpendicular towers for which it is so famous, but it was full of fine monastic buildings, of many of which no trace beyond a barn perhaps remains but which together with the fifteenth century houses in so many manors must have greatly added to the pleasantness and character of the county[1].

The greater monasteries of Somerset.

The first list which follows contains the names and revenues of the Greater Houses according to the division made by the Act of 27 Henry VIII. It is taken from the Valor Ecclesiasticus, "the Doomsday of the Church," a valuation made of all the ecclesiastical property in England in order that the revenue derived from the annates which had been transferred

[1] A note in the 'Survey' shews that the land round Taunton was notably fertile, though the 'Zun and the Zoil' had a good deal less assistance than even at the present time. Also see Norden, *Description of England* (N. Shak. Soc.), p. 230, 'The Paradise of England:'

'Boy. I was once in Somersetshire about a place neere Taunton, called Tandeane, I did like their land and their husbandry well.

Sur. You speake of the Paradise of England.'

There was much more timber in Henry the Eighth's time than now.

to the king by the Act of 26 Hen. VIII. might be properly estimated. The previous valuation was of the time of Edward the First.

Mon.	Revenues. £	s.	d.	Order.
Glastonbury Abbey	3311	7	4	Benedictine.
Bath Abbey	617	2	3	Benedictine.
Athelney Abbey	209	0	3	Benedictine.
Muchelney Abbey	447	4	11	Benedictine.
Bruton Abbey	439	6	8	Austin.
Montacute Priory	456	14	3	Cluniac.
Taunton Priory	286	8	10	Austin.
Keynsham Abbey	419	10	4	Austin.
Buckland Priory	223	7	4	Austin.
Witham Priory	215	15	0	Carthusian.
Henton Priory	248	19	2	Carthusian.

Of the above Buckland was a nunnery.

Some discrepancy may be found in the accounts of the houses and their values. Some are necessarily taken from other sources than the Valor. Many writers have relied on Speed; others on a list which occurs in the Cotton. MSS[1]. The best authority is the Roll in the Augmentation Office, of which the latter is only a copy. Sometimes again the ministers' accounts are followed; and as they are of later date than the *Valor* there is some difference, and as time goes on and we get near the end of Henry VIII. a great difference, in the revenues.

If we only multiply these incomes by ten, which is certainly not sufficient when money has to be considered in relation to subsistence, it will be seen from our own standard how very valuable these

[1] From which Speed copied probably. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XII. p. 309.

greater monasteries were. It is really very difficult to understand the influence and position of a community such as Glastonbury, living in a small and out of the world town[1], at the same time enjoying a revenue of more than £30,000 per annum. Perhaps this is even more forcibly brought home to us by trying to consider life at Muchelney and Montacute.

The next list, also from the Valor, contains the lesser houses, those that is to say with a rental below two hundred pounds. It will be noted that neither of these lists includes Bristol, which to begin with was only partially in Somerset, and further belonged to another ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Mon.	Income. £	s.	d.	Order.
Bath Hospital[2]	22	16	9	Benedictine.
Templecombe Preceptory	107	16	11	Knights of St John.
Berlych. Conventual Priory	98	14	8	Austin.
Bridgewater Hospital	120	19	1	Franciscan.
Wells Hospital[3]	40	0	2	Austin.
Canyngton Priory	39	15	8	Benedictine.
Cleeve Abbey	155	9	5	Cistercian.

[1] Some would dispute this, but an examination of the place will shew how entirely the place depended on the Abbey. It is noteworthy, for instance, that 'the George' was a hostel for pilgrims. Crewkerne was then one of the most important places in those parts.

[2] Of the following, Bath Hospital was not dissolved, but after various fortunes was handed over to the Mayor and Corporation. See *Bath Field Club Proceedings*, vol. II. p. 106. Canyngton and Mynchin Barrow were nunneries. The foundation of Maunde Roy was an incorporation of Vicars Choral in the Cathedral of Wells. See Green, *Som. Chantries*, p. 335 (*Somerset Record Society*, vol. II.).

[3] The Hospital, or Priory of St John, Wells, though below the £200 valuation seems to have escaped notice, for it was not suppressed until 1539. *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* 1859, p. 15.

Mon.	Income. £	s.	d.	Order.
Dunster Cell[1]	37	4	8	Benet.
Mynchin Barrow Priory	23	14	3	Austin.
Worspring	87	2	11	St Victor.
Wells Maunde Roy	71	17	2	Chantry.
Wells Vicars' College	72	10	9[2]	

Bridgewater, Franciscan Priory.
Ilchester, Dominican Priory.

A list has been added from the Cotton MSS.[3] by which we can compare Somersetshire with the other counties. The Chantries of course are not included.

No. of Houses.	County.	Total value per year. £	s.	d.
17	Bedford	2343	17	2
8	Berks	4469	5	1
14	Bucks	1496	17	1
11	Cambridge	1330	7	2
6	Cheshire	695	16	11
4	Cumberland	942	8	3
7	Cornwall	1279	0	7
10	Derby	1859	5	8
20	Devon	5671	15	8
14	Dorset	4578	0	0
24	Durham	1977	14	2
25	Essex	5577	7	8
13	Gloucester	5427	15	6

[1] To Bath.

[2] The above as taken from the Valor do not include the Friaries. Some doubt has existed as to whether Ilchester was not Franciscan, which theory indeed has the support of MSS., but all doubt has been cleared away by Fa. Palmer in *The Reliquary*, vol. XXV. p. 75 et seq.

[3] Cleopatra E. IV.

No. of Houses.	County.	Total value per year. £	s.	d.
9	Hereford	546	11	6
16	Hertford	2903	11	2
7	Hunts	2305	10	5
30	Kent	4838	3	9
4	Lancaster	484	18	6
17	Leicester	3511	15	7
51	Lincoln	7720	12	2
26	London and Middlesex	10,926	2	2
19	Notts	1104	5	5
41	Norfolk	4296	6	6
22	Northants	2247	4	1
16	Oxon	1788	19	10
2	Rutland	52	12	11
15	Salop	1889	4	8
23	Somerset	7641	10	11
21	Southants	3754	12	4
14	Stafford	1477	8	1
23	Suffolk	4221	4	7
11	Surrey	4416	19	2
17	Sussex	3007	4	7
33	Warwick	2968	12	1
1	Westmoreland	154	17	7
14	Worcester	3349	16	0
19	Wilts	3599	2	5
100	Yorkshire	15,331	10	5

The writer of this account whoever he may have been was not an accurate copyist, for he has missed out Northumberland which had 12 foundations[1]. Somerset is returned with 23 houses because he includes both Maunde Roy and the Hospital of

[1] Mr Bickley (to whom I am under considerable obligations), of the British Museum, expressed the view that judging from the character of the handwriting the above table was made late in the sixteenth century.

St Katherine, Bedminster. However the column is sufficiently near the truth to serve as an illustration of the remark that Somerset was very rich in monasteries and that the individual societies were possessed of large revenues.

It would take a small volume to enumerate correctly the Colleges, Chantries, fraternities &c. that were suppressed by the Act of 1 Edw. VI., but the following is a summary of them by Deaneries[1].

No.	Deanery.	Total Revenue for the Deanery. £	s.	d.
27	Crewkerne	122	10	7
27	Taunton	121	9	10
9	Dunster	46	19	6
18	Bridgewater	53	4	5½
8	Paulet	22	8	3
5	Glastonbury (Jurisdiction)	10	17	2
21	Axbridge	52	15	10
28	Bedminster	53	4	0½
22	Frome	48	17	1½
24	Ilchester	72	6	6
17	Cary	85	11	11
13	Marston	62	17	6
11	Bath	9	14	4½
20	City of Wells	171	0	8

Here again it must be remarked that no account is taken of anything but rents or rent-charges, none for instance of profit from cattle which were often left for the support of obytes, anniversaries and so forth.

Taking all income together we have a sum of something over eight thousand pounds a year to be

[1] Taken from Green, The Rental.

dealt with. How that and the plate, buildings and ornaments as well as other miscellaneous property was distributed will form the subject of a later chapter.

The important question which will occur to the reader as to the condition and usefulness of all these foundations will be answered indirectly rather than directly in this Essay. The letters which follow must be studied by any who would form an opinion. They are all quoted in full. Here a word or two must suffice.

Athelney, Muchelney and Bath it will be seen were in temporary financial difficulties. But what of the other charges against the monasteries? The visitors would make nothing out of Glastonbury as may be seen from letter X.[1] while we have only an unsupported statement as to Bath in the record of the whole county. On the other hand, no one can doubt from the correspondence that Athelney, Glastonbury, Henton and Montacute were well ordered. The generally high tone of the district is evidenced by the capital that has to be made out of the petty superstition at Bruton. The examination of the monk at Bruton is not without value as shewing the pressure brought to bear on the convents, the desire to find the heads involved in some irregularity, with the purpose of letting them off with the surrender of their houses.

A good deal of light too is thrown by the letters on the profits made by the visitors and their master,

[1] No account of the Glastonbury tragedy will be found here, it would merely mean repeating Gasquet II. c. IX.

but the evidence here is even with Ap Rice's letter in regard to Legh, hopelessly incomplete. The profits were gathered openly and in secret over the whole kingdom. Money, jewels, petty offices, corrodies, leases at 'convenient rentals,' anything in fact with a value would do for the crew of adventurers who wandered over the country. The following from Mr Gairdner's abstracts may be added as an instance of Cromwell's part in the matter, though it must be confessed that it is a bad instance, and away from Somerset.

Legh to Cromwell.

There is a priory of Byggyn in Fordham Norwich diocese where is but the prior and an aged monk at deaths door. The Earl of Northumberland is founder from whom Cromwell may easily obtain his title and interest. It is a proper house having £30 a year in temporal lands besides a benefice of £16 a year. Asks what shall be done[1].

As may be seen from letter IV. from Legh, the visitors if they served a common master did not by any means agree. Legh himself afterwards got into trouble and was reproved by Cromwell. The letter of Ap Rice which is given does not be it remembered stand alone, it is however sufficiently suggestive of the disloyalty and scheming malice which were characteristics of Cromwell's creatures[2]. Some of the

[1] Gairdner ix. 735; see also no. 478; Cott. MSS.; Cleop. E. iv. p. 127; and the particulars for grants of each month.

[2] This little history is set out in the Preface to Gairdner's 9th volume.

letters dwell upon a very disagreeable result of the visitation, the complete incarceration of the monks and heads of houses in the monasteries[1], a politic provision bringing pressure upon the unfortunate prisoners and calculated to induce them to resign.

The inferences to be drawn from the scanty evidence which remains have been disputed from the Reformation until the present day. On the one hand we have Mr Thorold Rogers[2], who says that the monasteries would deserve their fate if a part only of what was reported were true; with him Mr Froude; on the other Father Gasquet and the Catholic historians[3]. Without going so far as to maintain that things would not be so very bad even if all the Comperta were accurate it must be confessed that this remark is perfectly true as far as Somerset is concerned. Of other counties the same few (very few) 'stale indecencies' have been repeated in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, few examining closely into the motives of either the visitors or their master; most treating the whole as Fuller does, too much as a matter passed and unimportant, even as amusing. Still, as a great many moderate historians may be found to confess, as Fuller seems to confess, that the mode of suppression was abominable; that the conduct of the Government was inhuman, of the monks if the times be considered, at worst human. It must be admitted that every possible inducement existed to lead Legh and Layton

[1] Dixon I. p. 378.
[2] *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 338.
[3] Lingard and Dodd.

to blacken the character of the monks. It must also be admitted that if what we read be a fair sample of the rest of the houses in the county, on the whole in Somerset they were singularly unsuccessful.

Future chapters will shew to some extent what became of the monastic property, but its distribution does not suggest, any more than the rest of what is really known of Henry's character, any peculiar regard for what was holy in the king himself. Judge, jury, bar and witnesses were all by interest hostile, while the prisoner was browbeaten and terrified. Is it any wonder then that in the first place the possessions were confiscated and squandered, or that in the second a justification was patched up, partly based upon the confessions of the monks themselves?

But in saying that the suppression was unjustly carried out no one will be understood to imply that in the end it may not have been for the benefit of the nation, and that although it were the cause of much temporary and local distress.

Before adding the letters we must give a glance at the chantry priests who were pensioned off in the beginning of Edward VI. What character did they bear amongst their neighbours? In answering this question there is fortunately the best authority to stand by. The Commissioners who went their circuit in pursuance of the dissolving Act were not likely to err on the side of leniency, and in inspecting the property of the guilds, fraternities, &c. they frequently reported something as to the character of the officiating priests. On the whole the report is favourable. Two absentee scholars and three 'gentle-

men', taken with one case of dishonesty at Frome-Selwood form the category of whatever is objectionable. As Mr Green[1] says, the usual report, "Of honest conversation but indifferently learned," has a good ring about it. Where no report at all is made it must be concluded that the incumbent's character was satisfactory. Let it be remembered that there were at least 100 chantry priests in the county.

The illustrations[2] which follow are selected from various parts of the county and are made fairly numerous as the authority for them is not very accessible[3].

Ilmynster.

Thomas Battyn, clerke of the age of liiij years one of the incumbents is of verray honest conversacion.

John Poole, clerke of thage of lii yeres a man also of honest conversacion.

Robte Olyver clerke of thage of xl yeres of lyke conversacion.

Donyet.

Matthewe White, Clerke, of the age of lxx yeres of honest conversacion althouge of smalle lernynge incumbent ther.

Taunton.

William Callowe, clerke of thage of lvii yeres bachiler of Arte incumbent ther.

[1] Green, *Somerset Chantries*, Introd.

[2] Ib.

[3] No copy in the British Museum.

WELLINGTON.

John Spicer clerke of thage of xxxii yeres a man of honest conversacion, well learned, incumbent ther.

MYLVERTON.

Elia Salter clerke of thage of $\overset{xx}{iiij}$ yeres[1] incumbent ther a man of honest conversation verray impotent.

THE FREE CHAPEL OF BLACKFORDE.

John Clerke gentilman incumbent ther.

MARKE.

George Kendall clerke incumbent ther.

The parsonage ther is in the lorde Protector's graces handes Ther is one priest founde of the Devocion of the people besydes the foresayde seruice and besydes the curate of the same paryshe.

OVERWERE.

John More clerke incubent ther.

The chapell is utterly decayed.

PORTBURY.

Wm Powell a scoler in Oxforde incumbent ther.

YATTON FREE CHAPELL OF CLAREHAM.

Simon Porter, a scoler of the age of xviij yeres incumbent there.

MARTOCKE.

Stevyn Merse clerke incumbent ther.

The salary of the saide incumbent hathe ben

[1] i.e. 80 years.

alwayes viij markes by the yere untill the Duke of Suffolke that dede ys, about vij yeres now past, and ever sythe, hathe w^t^drawen the said salarie saving the foresaide somme of xls.

The chapell wherin the saide incumbent was wont to celebrate callyd o^r^ ladyes chapell scituate nere unto the mansion place of the saide manor was plucked downe and solde by the saide Duke vii yeres past.

Thenhabitauntes ther did of olde tyme gyve to the lorde of the saide manor certayne bushells of wheat callyd Churche yerde wheate towardes the finding of the saide priest whiche wheate is paid at this day but the salarie withdrawen as before.

Doultyng.

Thomas Horte al. Yetton of thage of lxvi yeres an impotent and lame man incumbent there.

Yeuyll.

Henry Lyrbecke clerke of the age of l yeres incumbent ther of honest conversation and a good syngynge man.

Pytney.

Laurence Orcharde clerke incumbent ther who receyveth the whole proffectes of the same as his parsonage Partakers of the Lordes Holy Sooper ther xxx persones. The chapell is utterly decayde and fallen downe long ago and the saide inhabitauntes resorte alwayes to the paryshe church of Yevill aforesaide for dyvine service and other mynistracion to

be had for the wch the foresaide incu*m*bent alwayes from tyme to tyme compoundeth and agreyth w^t^ the vicar or curat of Yevill for the tyme being.

The above give a very favourable view of the chantry priests. There was no suspicion of immorality breathed against them, though the fact of their having a sufficient income, usually about five or six pounds, and but little in many places to do, and further their living in the sight of all men, exposed them to all the gossip of a little country village. Surely none were more likely to be ill reported of if occasion arose. That the report then is as clear as it is from scandal is no bad testimonial to their worth.

The letters which follow are all that could be found after a careful search through the fifty-two volumes of the Cromwell correspondence in the Record Office, and through other collections as indicated. All that is to say concerning Somerset and the subject of this volume. As many have not been printed before and few in full, they are all given at length and as far as I was able, as they stand. The miscellaneous papers as yet uncalendared for 1538 and 1539 were also gone through, though as to the former year without result. Mr Gairdner very kindly searched for letters in the names of Legh, Layton, and Tregonwell in his index to the forthcoming volume of Letters and Papers for 1537, but also without result. It may be of local interest to state that in vol. 46 of the Cromwell Correspondence

there are some letters from the Dean and Chapter of Wells; but they would be out of place here.

Time was wanting to make more than the roughest attempt at arrangement in order of date. Probably if more had been done in this way it would have been unsatisfactory, as the minutest knowledge of the period is required for such an undertaking. Even Canon Dixon's scheme of the visitation is not complete[1]. He points out indeed that at one time there were five different visitations proceeding at the same time.

No. I.

The Abbot of Athelney to Cromwell.

Honorabell and my synguler good mast*er* my deuty co*n*syderyd I lowly haue me co*m*mendyd vnto youre good masterschepe desyring, yow to be good mast*er* vnto me and to my poure howse co*nsern*-yng the payment*es* of oure dett*es* that I may be out of trobell and sutte of the lawe and I am co*n*-tentyd to leue as pourely as any ma*n* shaldoo of my degre to the yntente that eu*er*y ma*n* may be the soner payd. worschypfull mast*er* deuyse so*m* menys that thys my pettysyone may take effecte & I am co*n*tentyd to abyde youre order y*n* thys behalffe. I truste to order me and my howse a*fter* suche a strayte facyon that I schal make payme*n*t of a hundret pound*es* eu*er*y yere. I haue send youre masterschepe a booke of the dett*es* & yerely fyes

[1] And Wright's attempt (*Three Chapters of Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*, Camden Society's Publications, 1843) has been criticised by the same authority; see Dixon *Hist. of the Ch. of England*, I. p. 339.

that my poure howse ys chargyd w^{t} whyche ys very moche. I hartly desyre yow to take the paynes to ou*er*see hyt & to p*ro*uyde so*m* remedye, and ye schal have oure dayly p*ra*yers as knowythe god who eu*er* have yow y*n* hys blessyd tuytone & send yow long lyffe wrytyne at Athelney the tenthe daye of Abryle

By youre poure bedysma*n*

Robert Abbot of Athelney[1]

yff y cowlde have a frynd that wolde lene me iiij or v hu*n*dret pound*es* w^{t}out ony p*ro*phete or lucoure I wolde gladly bynde me & my howse for the repaym*en*t of a hundret pound*es* yerely vntyll the full sume be payde asstrongly as yt may be deuysyd by the lawe. yff I hade mony to make payme*n*t I schulde haue moche mony remyttyd to paye the reste out of hande.

Thys be owre that folowyethe.

Vn to the kyngg*es* grace a hundret markes

Vn to my lorde of Glastonebury iiij schore and tenne pound*es*

Vn to the Abbot of Donxwell iiij schore pound*es*

Vn to mast*er* Sop*er* of tantone .....xl^{li}

Vn to mast*er* phylyps of poule.....xxxij^{li}

Vn to the vycare of more.....xx^{li}

Vn to mast*er* Newport of brygewatt*er* ....xxvij^{li}

Vn to John browne of Vfcombe.....xx^{li}

Vn to S*ir* phylype Jordyn*e* pryste .....xiiij^{li}

Vn to thom*as* mord of north currye.....xlviij^{li} xvj^{s} x^{d}

[1] MSS. Harl. 604. (Name in Harley Catalogue, Rob. Hamlyn) Date, April 10, 1536. In the list of obligations to the king in bonds, 2 Feb., 1535, the Abbots of Athelney and Muchelney appear as owing £33. 6*s*. 8*d*. and £133. 6*s*. 8*d*. respectively. G. VIII. 169.

Vn to *Sir* rycherde warre knythe .....lx^{li}
Vn to John curle .....xxvij^{li}
Vn to one thurston mede .....vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Vn to the churche of ylton .....vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Vn to *Sir* John Maior pryste .....vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Vn to the churche of curry.....ix^{li} and ode mony
Vn to the churche of thurloxton .....v^{li}
Vn to John chapel of glastonbury .....x^{li}
Vn to master austrayge of brystow...viij^{li} and ode mony
Vn to watt*er* yongge .....xvj^{li}
Vn to wyll*ia*m prysse .....vj^{li}
Vn to John cheke .....viij^{li}
Vn to Nych*o*lus browne of tantone .....xlij^{s}
Vn to Ric' Mychyll .....v^{li} xiij^{s} iiiij^{d}
Vn to Robert Kene .....xl^{s}
Vn to Jone Payne.....xxiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Vn to one Yuery.....vij^{li}
Vn to barnerde of tanton .....xlvj^{s} viij^{d}
Vn to one moddyslye .....xxij^{s}
Vn to John goldysmythe of tanton .....l^{s}
Vn to Rogere bele.....xvij^{s} viij^{d}
Vn to Will*ia*m collynggs .....xviij^{s}
Vn to mast' smythe of brystow .....xxvij^{li} vj^{s} j^{d}
Vn to the pr*i*or of tantone .....x^{li}
Vn to the prior of Saynt John*e*s of brygewatt' .....v^{li}
Vn to Wyll*ia*m harte .....xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Vn to John Persone .....viij^{li} and ode mony
Vn to will*ia*m gredy .....vj^{li}
Vn to thomas alyn .....iij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Vn to master gytson of london .....vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Vn to s*er*gent thorneton ys exsecutours .....vij^{li}
Vn to one norm*a*n .....xxxiij^{s}
Vn to Will*ia*m Brygge .....iij^{li}
Vn to oure vycare of wellys .....v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

Vn to one Vsman ..... xv^{s}
Vn to snow of lamport ..... iij^{li}
Vn to Wyll*ia*m pott' ..... xx^{s}
Vn to John p*ar*sone of sottone ..... xl^{s}
Vn to Mastres Porter of Som*er*tone ..... xx^{s}
Vn to a furrer of tantone ..... xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Vn to a sadeler of tantone ..... liij^{s}
Vn to thom*as* howes ..... xix^{s}

Thes su*m*ys folowyng, ys my dett*es* that I borowyd at my fyrste comyng to athelney to paye my ordynary charges w^{t} all.

of my lorde of tauystoke ..... xl^{li}
of Ric. mayow of tavystoke ..... l^{li}
of S*ir* Will*ia*m courtenay ..... xx^{li}
of mr s*er*uyngton of tavystoke ..... xiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
of John wyll*ia*ms of tavystoke ..... v^{li}

Sm^{a} totalis viij hundret iij schore and nene pounds xij schyllynggs vij pens.

thys folowyng, be the fyes and pe*n*tyons thatt oure howse ys yerely chargyd w^{t}all.

Vn to my lord dawbeny cheffe steward ..... xl^{s}
Vn to my lord fyzwarryng, ... xl^{s}
Vn to mast*er* secretary ..... liij^{s} iiij^{d}
Vn to mr thom*as* clarke ..... xl^{s}
Vn to S*ir* John horsey ..... xl^{s}
Vn to mr phylyppes of poule ..... xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Vn to mr sop*er* of tanton, audyter ..... xl^{s}
Vn to mr cuffe under stewarde ..... xl^{s}
Vn to John chapell of glastonbury ..... xl^{s}
Vn to catecote for the kynges corrody ..... l^{s}

al thos ar grontyd by couent scele before rehersyd.

Vn to S*ir* John wadh*a*m knygthe ..... xx^{s}
Vn to the schereue ..... xl^{s}

Vn to the excheter ..... xvj^{s}
Vn to mr porteman ..... xxvj^{s} viij^{d}
Vn to mr penny att^{r}nay ..... xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Vn to oure vicar of wellys ..... liij^{s} iiij^{d}
Vn to the vic' of longe suttone ..... xvj^{s} yn mony
Vn to the vic' of lenge yn mony by the yere... xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Vn to ambrose a syngngman hathe by couent seale yerely liij^{s} iiij^{d} beyng' at lyberte from the howse and chargyd w^{t} no servyse.

sm xxxiiij^{li} ij^{s} [1]

[Endorsed]

xth day of Aprile Lres from thabbot of Athelney.

II.

Richard Layton to Cromwell.

hit may please yo^{r} goodnes to vnderstande that we haue visit^{e} bathe wheras we fownde the prior a ryght vertuose man and I suppos no better of his cote a man simple and not of the gretesteste wite, his monkes worse then I haue any fownde yet both in bugerie and adulterie sum one of them haueyng x women sum viiith and the reste so fewer. the howse well repared but foure hundreth pownds in dett. At farley sell to lewys the p'or hade but viij horrs and the reste of the monkes sum ıɪj ıɪj ı as they myght gett them, their willes was goode, the trewthe is a vara stewys and muche bugerie both ther and at lewys and specially ther the supp'or as apperith

[1] This letter is printed, with some errors, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, II. 400.

by the confession of a faire young monke a preste late sent frome lewys. I haue matter sufficient here fownde (as I suppos) to bryng the p'or of lewys into gret daingier (si vera sint que narrant[r]) by this bringer my seruant I sende yowe vincula sancti petri wiche women of this countrey uside always to sende for in tempore partus to put abowte them to haue therby short deliuraunce and w[t]oute perile a gret relike here cowntede bycause the patrone of the churche is of saynt peter, juge ye what ye liste but I suppos the thyng to be a vara mokerie and a gret abuse that the p'or one Lammes day shulde carie the same chaine in a basyn of siluer in procession and euere monke to kysse the same post euangelium wt gret solemintie and reverens haueyng therefor no maner thyng to showe howe they came fyrste vnto hit, nether haueyng therof no writyng. ye shall also receve a gret komee callid mare magdalenes kome. saint dorothes komee, sainte margarettes kome the leste, they cannot tell howe they came by them nether hath any thyng to shewe in writyng y[t] they be relykes. whether ye wyll sende them agayne or not I haue referide y[t] to yo[r] jugment and to the kynges pleasure. this day we depart from bath towardes kensam wheras we shall make an ynde by tewsday at night. whether hit shalbe yo[r] pleasure y[t] we shall repaire vnto yowe on wedynsday erly or y[t] we shall retorne towardes maiden bradley w[t]in ij mylles wherof is a chartar-howse callede wittame and brutone abbey vij milles from y[t] & glassenberie other vij mylle, what yo[r] pleasure shalbe in the premissis hit may please yowe to assartaine vs by this berer my seruant. the prior of bathe hath sent vnto yowe for a tokyn a leisse of yrisshe Laners[1] brede in a selle in a selle of his in yrelonde no hardier hawkes cane be as he saith thus I pray gode

[1] See Warner, *Hist. of Bath*, p. 117, and App. no. XL.

to sende you as well to fare as yo^{r} hert deseruth from bathe this monday by yo^{r} assuride poire p'ste and seruant.

Ye shall receve a bowke of o^{r} lades miracles well able to mache the canterberie tailles. such a bowke of dremes as ye neuer sawe wich I fownde in the librarie.

RICHARDE LAYTON[1].

if ye tarry w^{t} the kynges grace viij dais we shall dispache all the howses afore recietede.

[Endorsements.]

Richard Layton shewinge the wyckednes of the Prior of Lewes and his Covent and of the monkes of Bathe and of foliche Reliques.

Calamo Velocissimo.

To the ryght wurshipfull master Thomas Cromwelle cheffe secretarie to the kynges hyghnes. his singulier goode master.

III.

LEGH TO CROMWELL.

After dewe commendations. please it yo^{r} maistershipp to be aduertised that when according to the kinges graces pleasure and yo^{r} mynde I visiting certayn monasteries gave iniunction and commaundment that not only the conuent but the Abbot Prior or hed shuld not go furth of the precint of their howse without speciall licence of the kinges hieghnes or of yo^{r} maistershipp, maister Docto^{r} Layton hath not lykewise donne the same, but lefft that to be orderid at the discretion and libertie of the saide heddes for

[1] R. O. *Cromwell Correspondence*, xx. Abstracted in Gairdner, IX. 42; 7 Aug. 1535, the date.

they and their chaplayns wherevppon suche as I have visited think that I am to rigorose to bynde theym harder then other men be. wherein I did nothing but vppon the kinges pleasure and yor's, well considering that inasmuch as both the heddes and members haue professid one religion, that they shulde be lyke in strayghtnes orderid. doyng this also because they might the more knowe the kinges supreme ecctiasticall power in seking to his grace or yor maistershipp for relieff herein. Therefore because it is very necessary that a conformitie be amonges vs yor ministers, it may please yor maistershipp other to send to Doctor Layton that he geve not only where he shall go but also where he hath been lyke iniunction, or to me that I may release suych as be bounden by the said commaundment. Also inasmuche as in ower procedinges in this hys busynes, it is very necessary & conuenient that all thinges be donne substantially, it is mete that no man shewe hym self to be the kinges commissionar or yor's, without a speciall commission in writing. and that these matters be not rasshely donne. for the olde saying is, sat cito si sat bene. for Mr Layton visited here at bruton shewing no commission. and spedely finished his busynes as yor maistershipp may perceyve at his commyng to you if ye call for the compertes and professions taken by hym. Aduertising also yor maistershipp that where I had bruton in my commission, at my comyng thither the abbot littel regarding the authoritie committed to me, with sharpe and quyk aunsweris said that if I wold of newe visite they, it shuld be but a very undoyng of all Abbotes and monasteries. and otherwyse shewid hym self very haulte and obstinate. Whereuppon I wold desire yor maistership ether to loke yorself, or else to suffer me to execute my commission towardes hym, as I may answer vppon my perill.

ffrom Bruton xxiij daie of August.

Also mr Doctor Layton hath not disuestied suych as be vnder the age of xxiiij yeres from their religion.

yors Eur assureyt

Thomas Legh[1].

[Endorsed]

To the Right honorable maister Thomas Crumwell secretary to the kinges grace his hieghnes, this be delivered.

Tho Leigh certefying what order he hath taken in executing his comission.

IV.

The Abbot of Glaston to Cromwell.

Right wurshipfull in my hartiest wise I recommend me vnto you And so thanke you for all goodnes herebefore towardes me and this monastery right hartely prayng you so contynue hereafter And bothe I and all my brethren shall contynually pray vnto Almyghtye god for youre Dayly prescruacon Also this shalbe to aduertise you that I haue recevid youre right loving lettres of this bringer by whom I haue according to youre pleasure in the same, send vnto you the Advocacon of the parisshe churche of Monketon whiche of trewthe is the ffirste that hathe been graunted oute of this monastery as farre as I can ffynde knowleage, I wulde it were a thing of suche valor as myght do you singler pleasure, but as it is ye haue it with all my harte, And any thing that I haue or may do you pleasure with at any tyme it shalbe alwayes redy at youre will and commaundeme to the best of my power as knoweth Almyghty god

[1] R. O. *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.*, Vol. ix. 167. Date, 1535.

who Alwayes haue you in his blessid tuicion with hono^{r}, At glastonbury the xxvith daye of August

Your faithfull Bedisman

Ric Abbott ther[1].

[Endorsed]

The abbot of Glastonbury.

[Addressed]

To the right wurshipfull
Master Cromwell
Secretary vnto the
Kynges highness be
This deliuerede.

V.

Layton to Cromwell.

Pleasit yo^{r} mastershipe to vnderstonde that yesternyght Late we came from glassynburie to bristowe to saint Austins wherat we begyn this mornyng intendyng this day to dispache bothe this howse here beyng but xiij chanons. and also the gawntes wherat be iij or v by this bringar my seruant I sende yowe relyqwis fyrste two flowres wrappede in white and blake sarcenet that one Christynmas evyn hora ipsa qua Christ^{i} nat^{i} fuerat will spring and burgen and bere blossoms. q̄d expertum este saith the prior off maden bradeley ye shall also receve a bage of reliquis wherin ye shall se straingeis thynges as shall appere by the scripture. as godes cote oure lades smoke part of godes supper in cena domini. pars petre super qua natus erat Jesus in bethelem, belyke theris in bethelem plentie of stones & sum qwarrie & makith ther maingierres off stone the

[1] R. O. *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.*, ix. 188. Date, 1535.

scripture of eu*er*e thyng shall declare yowe all and all thes of Maden bradeley wherat is an holy father prior and hath but vj children and but one dowghter mariede yet of the good*es* of the monasterie, trystyng shortly to mary the reste. his so*n*nes be talemen waittyng upon hy*m*, & he thank*es* gode a neu*er* medelet w^t^ marytt women. but all w^t^ Madens the faireste cowlde be gottyn and always marede the*m* ryght well, the pope co*n*siderynge his fragilitie gave hy*m* licens to kepe an hore and hath goode writyng sub plu*m*bo to discharge his co*n*science and to choys m^r^ vnderhyll tobe his gostely father & he to gyve hy*m* plena*m* remissione*m* & I sende yowe also oure Lad*es* gyrdell of bruton rede silke wiche is a solemne reliqui sent to women travelyng wiche shall not miscarie in p*ar*tu, I sende yowe also Mare magdalens girdell and y^t^ is wrappyde & coueride w^t^ white. sent also w^t^ gret reverence to women traveling, wiche girdell Matilda thempresse fownder of ferley gave unto them as saith the holy father of ferley. I haue Crosses of siluer and golde su*m* wiche I sende yow not now bycause I haue mo y^t^ shalbe deliu*er*d me this nyght by the p'or of Maden bradley hym self to morowe erly in the mornyng I shall bring yow the reste, whan I haue recevide all & p*er*chaunce I shall fynde su*m*thyng here incasse ye dep*ar*t this day hit may please yowe to sende me worde by this bring*er* my s*er*uant wiche way I shall repaire affter yowe, Witth*a*m the chartarhowse hath p*ro*fessid*e* and done althyng*es* accordyng as I shall declare yow at Large to morowe erly at bruton and glassenburie ther is nothyng notable the brethrin be so straite keppide y^t^ they cannot offende but faine they wolde if they myght as they co*n*fesse & so the favte is not in them. frome Sainte Austins w^t^oute bristowe this saint bartilmews day at iij of the cloke in the mornyng by the spedy hande of yo^r^ moste assurede poir preste

RYCHARDE LAYTON[1].

[1] MSS. Cotton, Cleop. E. iv.; 24th August, 1535 is the date.

VI.

Abbot of Glaston to Cromwell.

Right wurshipfull in right hartye wise I recommend me to you, And this adu*er*tise you, According vnto the pleasure & comande^{t} of the king*es* highnes by his moste graciouse letters and yours therew^{t} directid vnto me I haue here send vnto you the graunte of the Corrodye vnder Covent seall whiche Sir Thomas More lately had oute of this monastery after suche coursse and ffo^{r}me as alwayes heretofore hath ben used in this Monastery trustyng ye wulbe content and pleasid therew^{t}, wuld god it were, for youre pleasure, a farre bett^{r} thing, Master Cromwell I haue also here send you by this bringer tharrerag*es* of Sir Thome More ffyve pound*es* whiche were due to be paied at myghelmas last paste, and other ffyve pound*es* due to be payed at mighelmas next comyng, whiche laste fyve pound*es* shall stond in youre pleasure where he shall haue it that shall enjoye this new graunte or not. it hath been herebifore alwayes vsed to be paied at myghelmas as knoweth oure lord who haue you alwayes in his blessid tuicion. At Glastonbury the ixth daye of Septembre

Youre eu*er* to my power
with my prayers
Ric Abbott Glaston[1].

[Endorsed]

The Abbott of Glastonbury.

[and]

To the right wurshipfull
Master Crumwell Esquyer
principall Secretary vnto
the king*es* highnes be
this deliu*er*ed.

[1] R. O. *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.*, Vol. ix. 313. Date, 1535. (The word following Abbott is illegible.)

VII.

Visitation of Bruton.

Acta in domo Capitulari Monasterii de Brueton ordinis sancti Augustini Bathonis et Wellensis diocesis xxiij° Septembris[1] āno Dni 1535.

Quo die comparentibus abbate et conuentu dicti monasterii in dicta domo Capitulari praesentatis que literis regiis commissionalibus venerabili viro magistro Thome Legh Commissario in eisdem nominato tunc ibidem praesenti et pu^ce tunc ibidem per me Ioannem Rhesen Notarium pu^cum Regestorem t̄c plect̨. Prefatus magister Thomas Legh Commissarius onus executionis dictarum litterarum commissionalium ob summum honorem regie Maiestatis committentis et reuerenciam surrogantis in se assumpsit et decreuit procedendam fore iuxta vim formam et effectum earundem.

Deinde abbas dicti monasterii comparuit et allegauit tunc ibidem monasterium predictum alias nuper visitatum fuisse regia auctoritate per magistrum Ricardum Layton legum doctorem et dicte regie M^tis, ut asserebat, Commissarium. Et tunc prefatus magister Thom̃s Legh volens curam et prouinciam sibi in literis commissionalibus prelibatis commissam et creditam iuxta expectacionem et spem regie Maiestatis sibi committentis diligenter exequi atque curare ut maxīme ad Dei laudem regieque M^tis honorem et diuini cultus vereque religionis augmentum spectare videbit^r monuit prefatum abbatem quod exhibeat seu exhiberi faciat coram eo omnia et singula comperta in dicta visitacione prehensa habita in forma autentica et caveam rationabilem in debita iuris forma preponat quare dictum monasterium per eundem Commissarium dicta regia auc̈te visitari non debeat citra tercium diem mensis Septembris pro ex futuro vel in eo ubicumque infra hoc regnum Anglie tunc fuerit.

[1] Mistake for August; see Gairdner, Vol. IX. No. 159.

Preterea dictus abbas interrogatus per eundem dominum Commissarium an fuerit extra septa huius monasterii citra tempus visitacionis preallegate, respondit quod sic de consensu dicti magistri Layton, qui obseruacionem iniunctionum factorum commisit discretoni dicti abbatis in ea parte ut dicebat quoad plenius de regio constiterit beneficio in ea parte.

Deinde prefatus Thomas Legh Commissarius aucte sibi commissa monuit prelibatum abbatem quatenus septis huius monasterii nullatenus exiret sine dicte regie m^tis^ aut magistri Thome Crumwell eius visitoris generalis speciali licencia primitus petita et obtenta.[1]

[Endorsed] The Abbot of Bruton commaunded by the vysyto^rs^ not to goe out of his howse w^th^out Licence.

VIII.

The Prior of Bath to Cromwell.

After my dutie w^t^ all humillitie done I hartlie desire yo^r^ honorable mystership that yt will please youe of yo^r^ goodenesse and in contemplacion of the urgent & dayelye occurrent necessitees & causes of my house to graunte vnto me and my celerar of my house a lycens for this iniunction quod nullus hui^s^ cenobii monachus siue confrat' septis hui^s^ cenobii quouismodo egrediat^r^ whiche I doe not desire (gode ys my iuge) for myne owne pleasure or commoditie. And ffardre where as yt is enioyned that noe woman shall come w^t^in the septe or precincts of my monastery e. where as the kynge ys commission (A woman being the parttie playntiffe) ys now directe vnto me. I hartlie desire yo^r^ honorable maistership to knowe by yo^r^ lres or othre insinuacion. whethre I may (the seyde iniunctyon saued) sit yn suche commyssions, or speke w^t^in the septe of my monasstye w^t^ wydowe or

[1] R. O. *Letters and papers, Henry VIII.* Vol. IX. No. 159.

othre woman my tennttes making sut vnto me for there tenenttres and causis, whiche elles shulde be a greate incommodytie to my house. I haue send yo^r^ maistership here yn an olde Boke Opera Anselmi whiche one william tildysleye After scrutinye made here in my libarye. willed me to send vnto youe by the kynge ys grace and comawndnment, And thus oure lorde gode of his Aboundaunt mercye longe preserue yo^r^ maistership yn prosperitie. ffrom Bathe the xxiiij^ti^ daye of septembre

Yo^r^ Daylie Bedisman
Willm̄[1] prioure of the
Cathedrall churche there.

[Endorsed]
The Priour of Bathe
Addressed to Cromwell.

IX.

Sir John Fitz James to Cromwell.

My singuler gode master after moste humble recommendacon w^t^ like thankes for yo^r^ great payne of late taken w^t^ me to my great comforte this shalbe to adu^r^tyse yo^r^ said gode masterschipp that I haue spoken w^t^ my lord Abbot of Glastonbury concernynge suche Iniunccons as weer yeven hym and his covent by yo^r^ deputie at the last visitacon there whereof there be foure Articles in this papar hereyn closed and as to too the first Articles extendyth generally to euery moncke yn the howse but to suche as be excepted in the seccound Article to info^r^me yo^r^ Masterschipp of the trothe ther be certen officers brodirs of the howse whiche haue allway be attendaunt Apon the Abbot as his Chapleyn Steward Celerer and on or too officers moo if they schuld be

[1] R. O. *Letters and papers, Henry VIII.*, ix. 426. Date, 1535.

bounde to the firste too articles it schuld muche disapoynt the order of the howse whiche hathe longe ben full honorable. Wherefore if it may pleas yo^{r} said gode Masterschipp to licence the Abbot to dispence w^{t} thoo too firste Articles yn my mynde ye schall doo a verie gode dede and I dare be suertie he will dispence w^{t} none but w^{t} suche as schalbe necessarie, and to the thirde Article they haue vsed all way is make ther leesses by on of the Religious and Cecular men Appoynted to hym. whiche leesses haue com*mon*ly be made at a Courte and letten by copie of the Courte Roll and the Covent neu*er* made previe to the leese and if they schuld make no leese but by assent of the more p*ar*te of the Covent it schuld be verie tedyous bothe to them and to ther ten*n*antt*es*. Wherfore if it may pleas yo^{r} gode Mastorschipp to discharge that thirde article the abbot weer muche bounde to yo^{r} gode masterschipp. And to the $\overline{\text{iij}}^{\text{th}}$ article p*er*aventure there be sume of his brodirs wuld be gladd to be abrode and to make vntrew surmyse so the Abbot may paye for ther cost*es*. Wherfore if it may pleas yow to ordre that clawse to be spared to tyme the Abbot may wayte on yo^{r} gode masterschipp the next terme or ell*es* to make it if the complay*n*unt prove his complaynt to be trew than to haue his cost*es* or ell*es* not the Abbot weer muche bounde to yowe. Other articles ther be whiche they thinke verie strayt how be it they will sue to yo^{r} gode masterschipp ffor that at more leysor and yn the meane tyme I dowte not they will keep as gode Religyon as any howse of that order w^{t}yn this Realme as knowith god who long p*re*sue yo^{r} saide gode masterschipp at Redliche the $\overline{\text{ij}}^{\text{de}}$ day of Septembre yo^{r} humble daylie orato^{r} as he is most bownd*en*.

JOHN FFIT JAMES[1].

[1] MSS. Cotton, Cleop. E. IV. It has been suggested that the 4 articles appended have been added later. The Date is 2 September 1535.

The articles referred to (on a separate sheet).

Item *quod* omnes et singuli confratres siui com*m*onachi huius monasterii simul in loco appelato the mysericorde diebus quibus vescunt^r^ carnibus vel in refectorio diebus aliis ad suas refecc*tione*s discumbant.

Item q*uod* omnes confratres huius domus exceptis Abbate egrotis et hiis qui iubeleum peregerint cubent una in dormitorio singuli p*er* se in lectis distinct*is*.

Item q*uod* Abbas huius domus nullam diuastac*io*-*ne*m faciet siluarium p*ertinentium* ad hoc monasterium neq*ue* firmas aut reuerc*ione*s temere aut inconsulte locabit, sine consensu maioris p*ar*tis conventus.

Item q*uod* si aliquis siue Abbas siue confrater huius domus iniu*n*ctiones p*redict*as aut ea*rum* aliquam violaverit quilib*et* eo*rum* id q*uod* primu*m* dicte regie maiestati aut cui visitatori generali cuicu*m*q*ue* vel suo surrogato denu*n*ciari p*ro*curet Abbas quod pecunias et alia itineris neces*sar*ia denu*n*ciatori suppeditet et submi*n*istret.

X.

John Ap Rice to Cromwell.

After my due and right humble co*m*mendacions Please it yo^r^ m^r^ship to be aduertised that I haue this daie receued yo^r^ L*ett*res by the which I doo apperceaue that ye are not co*n*tent with me for that I have not reuealed vnto you M^r^ Docto^r^ Leghes demeano^r^ p*ro*cedinge*s* & maner of going. S^r^ allthough I were diuers tymes mynded to be in hande with yo^r^ m^r^ship for certain abuses & excesses which I saw in the same. as I thought it my duetie. yet diuers causes did discorage and retracte me fro*m* so doing. ffirste I sawe howe litle the co*m*playnte*s* of other as of thabbot of Brueton where he vsed hymself, me

thought, very insolentlie did succede at yo^{r} hand*es* and thinking that his demeano^{r} at Bradstok Stanley and Edington where he made no lesse ruffleling with the hedd*es* than he did at Brueton shulde of all lykelyhood come likewise to yo^{r} knowlege and yet sawe nothing said vnto hym therfor. And also that supposyng that you co*n*sidering howe he was one of theym that depraued me heretofore with yo^{r} m^{r}ship. for no iuste cause but for displeasure which he have towardes me for certain causes which I woll declare vnto you at more leysure. Wolde haue thought all my reaporte by hym to p*ro*cede of malice. And therfor because I wolde that the matier shulde haue come to yo^{r} eares rather of other men than of me. I spake of certain his abuses to diuers of my companio*n*s nyghe about you, and called diuers of my ffellowes yo^{r} s*er*vau*n*t*es* at London to come with me and see all his p*ro*cedinge*s* gesture and mane*r* of going then at Westm*inster* and at Powlles. And myself being hyndered with you not long agoo was affrayed to attempt suche an enterprise with you not being comaunded by you afore so to do | leste he with his bolde excuse wherein he is I adsure you v*er*y redy, wolde haue ouercome me being but of small audactie specially in accusations wherunto I am nothing p*ro*pense of nature though the matier were nev*er* so trewe. I can p*erceau*e by some that ye woll truste that I wolde haue shewed you his demean^{r} but for that I was afrayed that ye wolde haue taken it to p*ro*cede of malice. I loked allways whan ye shulde haue comaunded me to shewe you that. for many tymes it happeneth that a man intending but well hath incurred displeasure by doing his duetie. Also I am fearefull. I am not eloquent in accusations as some men be but nowe that ye comaunde me I dare boldely declare vnto you that I thinke to be amysse in the said m^{r} Doct^{r} and what I require in hym.

ffirste. in his going he is too insolent & pom-

palique which because he went so at London in the face of all the worlde I thought ye had knowen. and afore yo^{r} owne ffface many tymes. Than he handleth the ffathers where he cometh very roughely and many tymes for small causes as thabbot*es* of Brueton, & Stanley, & m^{r} of Edington for not meting of hym at the doore where they had no warnyng of his comyng. Also I require more modestie, grauitie and affabilitie which wolde purchase hym more reuerence than his owne setting foorth and satrapike countenance.

The man is yong and of intolerable elation of mynd.

As co*n*cernying his taking I think it excessive in many thing*es*.

first for the election of the Po^{r} of Coventrie he toke xv^{li} for the election lately at Bevall, the charter-house xx^{li} beside his costes vj^{li}. at Vale royall xv^{li} beside his costes vj^{li} and his rewarde vnknowen to me. And at Tarrent for the election there xx^{li} beside his costes iiij^{li} And because I knewe there by one ffissher that was sollicito^{r} in that matier that yo^{r} pleasure was he shulde haue no lesse for Tarrent I thought he toke the other but according to yo^{r} pleasure. And surely he asketh no lesse for euery election than xx^{li} as of dutie. whch in myne opinion is to moche and aboue any dutie that euer was taken by any directo^{r} heretofor.

Also in his visitacions he refuseth many tymes his rewarde though it be co*m*petent, for that they offer hym so litle. and maketh theym to sende after hym such rewardes as maye pleas hym. for surely, religious men were nev*er* so affrayed of Docto^{r} Allen*n* as they be of hym he useth suche rowgh fasshion with theym.

Also he hath xij men wayting on hym in a lyverey beside his owne brother which muste be rewarded spe*c*ially beside his other se*r*uante*s* and that

I thinke to grete a trayne to come to small houses withall.

How moche he toke at euery house I am not prevey but of fewe. And as for any licenses that he gaue since he came foorth Laste, he gaue none but to thabbot of wobo^{r}ne. vntill he might come to you and obteigne of you a license to goo abrode.

And in some thinges I suppose that he foloweth not yo^{r} instructions As where I toke it that ye wolde haue all those both men & women that were xxij yere olde & between that & xxiiij they shulde choyse whether they woll tarrye or goo abrode. And he settes but religiouse men onlye at that libertie.

Also he setteth a clause in his Iniuntions, that all they that woll of what age so euer they be maye goo abrode. which I harde not of yo^{r} instructions.

Of his doing hereafter and of all other thinges that I shall reken worthie thaduertisement I shall adcertayne your m^{r}ship of as I shall see cause. nowe that ye commaunde me so to doo. And as for myne owne dealing and behavio^{r} I truste ye shall here no iuste cause of coomplainte ageinst me, one thing humblie desiring yo^{r} m^{r}ship that ye geve no Light credence till the matier be proued and my defense harde. And if it had not ben for troubling of you I wolde haue so declared vnto you the circumstance of my firste accusacion and thoccasion therof that ye shulde haue ben well persuaded that all the same proceded of a greate and a long conceyued malice ageinst me & of no matier of treuthe or worthie correction. And being so sodenlie taken and you so long before incensed by the meanes of myne aduersaries, I was so abasshed that I had not those thinges in my remembrance that was for my defense. And praye you moste humblie to persuade yo^{r}self that I hauying so many & so greate benefites at yo^{r} hande, and hanging onlye vpon your good successe cannot, but yf I were the moste vnnaturall person in the worlde,

do or suffer to be doon to my power any thing that might be impeachment of yo^{r} hono^{r} or worship. which I praye god euenso to p*r*eserue as I wolde myne owne liff. And thus allmightie god haue yo^{r} m^{r}ship in his blessed keping. ffrom Warden Abbeye this xvjth of October

Yo^{r} moste bounden S^{runt}

JOHN AP RICE[1].

[Endorsements]

To the right hono^{r}able and my singlar good master, M^{r} Secretarie to the king*es* highnes

John ap Rice, againste Docto^{r} Leighes insolent behavyour in his visitacon vnder the Lord Cr*u*mwell

XI.

THE ABBOT OF GLASTON TO CROMWELL.

My right especiall good M^{r} Secretorye. Pleaset it yo^{u} to be aduertised thatt where this, the kinges monasterie of Glastonbury, hath hadde thuse of Spirituall Jurisdicon, within the Towne aforesaide, and other peculier places nygh therunto adioynynge: which Jurisdiccon hath heretofore at all tymes ben exercised by such one lernd in the lawe, as hath pleased thabbot there to depute and assigne, to haue thadmi*n*stra*c*ion and execu*c*ion of justice, in such spirituall causes as hath from tyme to tyme occurred, there to be determyned. And nowe, by oure saide souereynes high and supreme authoritie (his gracious visita*c*ion dependinge) I am inhibited thexercisinge of Jurisdicc*i*on in all such peculier

[1] R. O. *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. IX. No. 622. See also No. 630, same vol. The date is 1535.

places, to the said monasterye belongynge. which monasterye (as yo^{r} maistershipp knowith) is by the said aucthoritie all redye visited. And for as moch as there be diuers poore men, which haue causes nowe dependinge vndiscussed in the said peculier courtes, whoo maketh busie intercession for thexpedicion of their said causes, wherunto I can make noo answere, Therefore, and for the quyetnes & ease of the said poore men I intierly beseche youe, that I may be advertised of the kinge oure souereignes pleasure, & yours, whate shal be done concernynge the same which (to me knowen) I shall with all my power cause to be putt in execucion with theffectes. And there by ye shall bynde me & the said poore men to be youre bedemen to pray for your good helth longe to endure, Att Glastonbury the xxvj^{ti} day of Octobre

Youre assured alwayes

to my power

Ric^{D} Abbott[1] there

[Endorsed]

To the right worshipfull and myne especiall good ffrinde Mr secretorie be this delivered

XII.

Robert Hamblyn Abbot of Athelney to Cromwell.

Honorabell & my synguler good master my dewty premysyd w^{t} due commendatians I haue me comendyd vn to you thys ys to aduertyse youre masterschepe that docter tregonell the kyngges vysy-

[1] R. O. Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., ix. 685. Date, 1535.

ture hathe byne at oure poure monastery & hathe execute the acte of vysytac*i*on for the reformac*i*on of good relygyon wher he founde (thankes be to god) the house yn metely good order. as yt wyl apere at hys returne. not wythstanding that he gaue ous s*er*tyne jnionct*i*ones accordyng to the kyngg*es* plesure for the reformacan & con*ser*uac*i*an of good relygyan wher apone he com*m*andyd me & my bretheryn to kepe w*t*yn the p*re*cyncte of oure monastery vnles youre mastershepe dyspence w*t* me. Wherefor worschypfull mastr I schal hartly desyre yow to lycens me w*t* a chapelyne to goo abrode su*m*tymys for the necessary busenys of oure monastery & to ou*er*see oure husbandre & demaynes whyche schal be not only for p*reser*uatan of my bodily helthe but also for the vtylyte & p*ro*phete of oure poure monastery. thys*e* con*s*yderyd I schal ynstantly desyre youre masterschepe to gront my petycyan and desyre & send me youre plesure by wrytyng. & yn so doyng ye schal bynd me accordyng to my dewty to p*ra* for yow as knowythe god who eu*er* p*reser*ue yow & send yow long lyff

Wryten at Athelney the fourthe day of Nouembre

By youre poure bedysm*a*n

Robert Abbot ther[1]

[Endorsed]
Thabbot of Athelney

[Addressed]

Vnto hys woschypfull & synguler good master. mast*er* secretory vn to the kyngg*es* grace deliv*er* thys.

[1] R. O. Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., ix. 763. Date, 1535.

XIII.

William Dovell Abbot of Cleve to Cromwell.

Ryght honorabull my dutye remembred unto yo^{r} good maistshipe pleasyth yt you to understand that mr Docto^{r} Tregonwell hathe vysytted my house at yo^{r} commaundeme^{t} by the auctoryte of o^{r} souerayne lord the kynge o^{r} supreme hed of the churche of Englond yn the wh vysytacon he hathe by jniunctyon commaundyd me and all my covent to kyype w^{t}yn the precynte of o^{r} monestary the w^{lh} yff I shulde not somtymes see for the prouycyon of my poure house beynge of smale landes, I cannot be abyll to mayntayne my seyd house nor obserue & kype hospitalyte accordyngly as yt hathe byn usyd yn tymes past. nor yet to pay the tenthe parte to o^{r} seyd souerayne as my landes dothe extende wherfore in the hono^{r} of God I hartely desyre you to be so good unto me as to suffer me to ouersee my seyd prouycyon and also I haue lycens and commaundme^{t} of my lord of bathe to preche at certeyne places w^{t}yn the Dyoces yff yo^{r} goodnes wyll so suffer me. I trust to use me bothe to the pleasure of god and also to my prynce & soueraigne after holy scripture by the helpe of blyssyd Jhesu who preserue you euermore to yo^{r} most desyre wryten at Clyffe Abbey the VIIIth day of Nouember

[Signed in a different hand]

by the handes of yo^{r} bedman

Wyllam Dovell Abbott ther[1]

[Endorsements]

Dovell Abbott of Clyff

To the Ryght honorable maister Thomas Cromwell Chyffe Seqetorye the kynges hyghtnes be this delyrded

[1] R. O. Letters and Papers, Henry VIII., Vol. IX. 790. Date, 1535.

XIV.

Tregonwell to Cromwell.

My moaste bownden dewtye to youre masterschype *prem*ysed, Pleasithe the same to be adu*er*tysede, that at this my beyng at Bartyche yn Somersett schere (A howse of Chanons of thordre of Seynt Augustyne) I *per*cue that the p*rio*r of that howse wilbe and ys contentyde to resygne his rome and offyce of p*rio*rschipe of the same, soo that his supp*rio*r namede Syr John Barwyke may succyde hym yn that rome. The same Barwyke ys (of trowthe) moaste apt and meate for that rome of any w^t^yn that monasterye, bothe of Dyscreacyon and also of vndrestondyng. And althoghe hit hathe pleasede you to geue me authorytye by youre Com*m*ysson to receue resygnacyons, and to dyrecte and ordre electyons of all Abbott*es* and p*rio*rs beyng w^t^yn the lymett*es* of youre sayde com*m*yssyon, yet w^t^owte youre speciall pleasure to me knowen I wyll attempte nothing concernyng the same. Besechyng youre mastreschipe that hit maye stonde w^t^ youre pleasure to sygnyfye vnto me (by youre wretyng) yo com*m*awndemente concernyng the same howse of Barlyche. The landys therof of ys c^li^ yerly, the howse ys yn dette lx^li^, and yn some rewen and dekey. This daye I ryde to Barnastaple and soo yn to thother partyes of Devonschere. As knowithe oure lorde godde whoo preserue your mastreschipe. frome Barlyche the ix daye of Novembre

The ordynarye wolde haue electyde the sayde Barwyke to be p*rio*r yff my comyng hether hadd not byn for the howse ys not of the kyng*es* fowndacyon. m^r^ phetypace[1] of beselle*s* lyghe ys ther founder I haue showyde the p*ar*tyes that all this matter lyeth yn yo^r^ mastreschipes hond and therfor y haue aduised them

[1] Fettiplace of Besils Legh, Leland Coll. i. 78.

to make sewet to yo^{u} for thopteynyng of ther purpose

Yo^{r} moast bownden

JOHN TREGONWELL[1].

[endorsed]
Docto^{r} Tregonwell about ye Religious howse at Barlyche in Som*er*set.

[addressed]
To the right honorable Mr Thomas Crumwell highe secrettarye to the kyng*es* maiestye be this delyu*er*yde

XV.

Iff hit may stonde w^{t} yo^{r} masterschips plesure to opteyne of the kyng*es* highnes the ferme of oon of thes vndre wreten monasteryes for yo^{r} moast bound^{e}n Jo. Tregonwell, to be Letten to him at a convenyent rent, whereby he maye haue some helpe towards his levyng, and fyndyng of his wiff and childrene, yo^{r} kyndnese therin shalbe consyderyde w^{t} suche rewarde as shall content yo^{r} mastreschip and besyd*es* that yo^{u} schall bynde him and all his p*er*petually to p*ray* to all myghty God for yo^{r} pros*per*ytye and helthe Longe tendur

Byndon	Wiltes
Dorchester	Oxon
Brewerne	Oxon
Bryggwater } Clyve }	Som*erset*

[1] R. O. Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., ix. 795. This letter is calendared in 1535. No surrender or supremacy acknowledgement from Barlynche is found in the catalogues contained in the 7th and 8th Repts. Dep. Keeper of Records.

Canonlye} Polstowe}	Devon
Mayden bradley	Wiltes
Ivecherche	Wiltes[1]

[endorsed]

John Tregonwell to haue in fferme an Abbey of those he nameth.

XVI.

Richard Zouche to Cromwell.

Sure plesyt yo^{r} goode mastrchipe to underston y^{t} wer I dewlle ys a pore pryery A fundacion off my nawynsetres wyche ys my lorde my fatheres ynerytens ande myne Ande be the reson off a lowyde pryor w^{t} was ther wyche was a schanon off townton[2] a for browytt hytt to be a sell unto tawnton. Ande now his hytt Dystryde and ther ys but to chanons wyche be off no goode leuyng Ande y^{t} ys gret petty the pore howse scholde be so yll yntretyde werfor yff ytt may plese yo^{r} goode masterchype to be so goode master to me to gett me the pore howse wyche ys callyde stauerdell I wer bownde to pray for yo^{r} masterchyp. And also I schal bere yo^{u} my harty seruys next the kynge ys gras ande be at yo^{r} commayndment be the gras off gode he euer preserue

[1] R. O. Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., x. 388. Date, 1536. Feb. (Gairdner).

[2] Taunton: Stavordale became a cell to Taunton shortly before the dissolution as may be seen in Hugo's Hist. of Taunton priory.

yo^{r} goode mast*er*ehype yo^{r} howyne pore s*er*uantt ande bedma*n*

RYCHARDE ZOUCHE[1]

[addressed]
To the Ryght worchyp-
full & my synglar goode
mast*er* mast*er* secretory
be thys d*elivere*d

[endorsed]
Richard Zouche a l*ette*re

XVII.

SIR HUMFREY STAFFORD TO CROMWELL.

Right Woorshipfull yn my most humblyst wise I comend me unto yo^{r} good w^{r}ship thangkyng yo^{r} w*or*ship e*ue*r for the great kyndenes and ffave^{r} shewed unto me alweye and where it may please yo^{r} mastership to call to yo^{r} good remembraunce that ye p*ro*mysed me to be good m^{r}ster unto me when the tyme came s^{o} yo^{r} w^{r}ship shall understond that where as yet I am not able to doo suche acceptable s*er*vice vnto the kynge*s* highnes my m^{r} as my poore and true hert wold and if I hadd wherwith to maynteyn it. So if it pleasith it yo^{r} m^{r}ship to und*er*stond that where I desyred m^{r} Bryan to be so good m^{r} vnto me as to moshion vnto yo^{r} m^{r}ship to help me to the gifte of the priorie of ffynshed a house of chanons yn the countie of South*a*mpton of the yerly value of lvj^{li} x^{s} xj^{d} ob. yn case it be subpressed, so yo^{r} m^{r}ship shall und*er*stond that sens that tyme my naturall ffather willed me to write to yo^{r} m^{r}ship and to none othe*re* for to be good m^{r} vnto me for a house of

[1] MSS. Cotton, Cleop. E. IV. Date, 1536, about February, [G. X. 390].

Chanons yn somersett their called worspryng where my seyd ffather is ffounder therof and as I do suppose * * of like value or thereabouts And if it wold please yor mrship to be so god mr vnto me as to helpe me to worspryng Priorie I were and wylbe wylst I leve yor bedman and alweys redy to yor mrship suche poore service and pleasure as shalbe come me to doo whillest I do leve god wylling who euer haue yor mrship yn his prouysshion ffrom Bletherwere thus present palme Sonday. By yor owne assured to his litle power

HUMFFRAY STAFFORD[1] esquyer

XVIII.

THE EXAMYNACION OF RICHARD HALFORD MONKE OF THABBEY OF BREWTON TAKEN IN THE FFLETE BEFORE THOS. BEDILL ONE OF THE KYNGES MOST HONORABLE CONSELL.

The said Richard of thage of xli yeres examyned the xij daie of June the xxviij yere of the reigne of or soueregn lord Kyng Henry the viij[th] of & vpon dyuerse interogateries thyn mynystred answereth deposeth as hereafter ensyeth. To the ffirst & second he affirmeth to be true.

To the thirde he saith that the lycence was rased and in the place of the worde priorat was written this worde monasterii[2] by the clerk or clerkes which wrote the said licence as far as this respondent knoweth And saith that Mr vnderhill whiche procured the said licence shewed this respondent that the said wordes were written and amend by the seid clerkes

[1] MSS. Cotton, Cleop. E. IV. Date, 9 Ap., 1536.

[2] Bruton was made an Abbey in the beginning of the Reign of Hen. VIII. See Tanner, *Not. Mon. Co. Somt. Art. Bruton.*

To all the residue of the interogatories he saith that after the said lycence was opteyned as well vnder the kyng o^r^ souereigne Lord his brode seale as also vnder my lorde Archebusshop of Canterburyes seale by the procurement of the said M^r^ vnderhill one Roberd Wattes seruant vnto the said M^r^ underhill vpon seynt Georges daie last past in the before none of the same daie came vnto this depo^t^ then beyng in theseid monastery And ther delyuered to this respondent both the seid licence vnder my lorde of Canterburys seale and confirmacion under the brode seale of England And when (?) this respondent had perused and red them ouer And founde the ffawt of the vurde priorat this respondent shewed the said messenger that the same lycence was not god by cause of the worde prioratus saying that it shuld haue been monasterii And wrote a letter ymmediately vnto the seid Th. underhill aduertesyng hym accordyngly requyryng hym by the same to cause the same licence to be made good and effectuall. And requyred hym not to cause it to be reased And that done deliuered the same lettere and the seid licence & confirmacion to the seid messenger to be delyuered by hym to his seid master, And saith that about iij wekes past the said Wattes brought agen this respondent the seid licence & confirmacion euery of them beyng rasid & amended as it nowe appereth, which messenger brought not onylie from his seid m^r^ but said to this dep^t^ by worde that they were sufficient and good y nough for all ther rasyng saying that they were amended by them that ffyrst wrote the same, and also he saith that about v or vj or vij daies after the recept thereof this respondent shewed the same to the abbot of the seid monastery vhich upon the sight therof ffound the seid ffawt in the said rasyng.

And saith that the seid M^r^ Vnderhill opteyned the seid licence And confirmacion wythout takyn any reward or promys of reward for his paynes &

dylygence in thopteynyng of the same or the amendyng of the same.

Except that this *respon*dent payed the ordyn*ar*y charges the which came to iiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}.

By me Richarde Alforde[1]

THE EXAMYNACION OF THE SEID RICHARD HOLFORD TAKEN BEFORE THE SEID THOMAS BEDELL THE DAIE & YERE & PLACE AFORESEID.

To the ffirst he saith that he knoweth no man*er* of cryme agenst thabbott of the seid monastery that he is able to p*rove*

To all the residewe of the seid interogatories he saith that he neu*er* conspired wyth the seid harold Hert or Whight ne ony of theym ne wyth oney other p*er*son or p*er*sons to accuse the said abbot of any Treason nor neu*er* conspired the death of the said abbot ne any other displesre towardes hym. And saith also that he knoweth not for trueth that the said Harold Hert and Vhite conspired together to accuse the said abbot of Treason or otherwyse conspired his death but saith that about ij yeres past or more S^{r} Willm Sturton knyght nowe beyng lorde Sturton came vnto the seid monastery (the abbot then not beyng ther at home) Att whiche tyme the said Harold delyu*er*ed to the seid S^{r} Will*iam* a bille of accusacion of the seid abbot in the chamber of the seid vhite (this *respon*dent then beyng nothyng p*revie* therunto) And saith that afterward this depo^{t} hauyng not any know*ledge* of the dely*uery* of the said bille went vnto the seid S^{r} Will*iam* Sturton And requyred hym of hys advyse and furtherance in the opteynyn of his seid licence And after that they had ffynyshed ther cov*er*cacion for that p*ur*pose the seid S^{r} Will*iam* Sturton shewed this depo^{t} the said bille of accusacion

[1] Each page of the report is so signed.

which as he said the seid Harold delyuered vnto hym And demanded of this respondent if he knewe of any suche wordes that the Abbot had said or spoken. And this respondent answered and said that he neuer herd the said Abbot saye any such wordes nor neuer herd any other man report that euer the said abbot dyd euer speke any such wordes. And this depot saith that in the next mornyng after this doponentes reterne to the seid monastery this respondent shewed the seid abbot of the seid bille of accusacion which the said Mr Sturton had shewed hym And the said Abbot vtterly denyed to this respondent that euer he spake ony suche wordes nor reasoned ony ffurther in the matter at that tyme nor at ony after tyme wythe this respondent. And saith that not long after, this the seid Harold and this respondent had conuercacion of the said bille of accusacion at which tyme the same Harold afirmed to this respondent that he herd the seid Abbot speke the seid wordes conplyned in the seid bille ayenst the quene in the herying also of the prior of the said monastery and two or three other chanons of the said monastery. vnto whome this respondent said that he neuer herd the said abbot speke ony such wordes.

And saith that ther was neuer any other conuercacion of this matter bytwene this respondent and the said Hert but onely of this effect that the seid Hert was sorry that the said harold had made the said accusacion vpon the seid abbot.

And saith also that the said white shewed this respondent that the seid harold shewed hym that he herd the seid abbot speake onfittyng wordes ayenst the quenes grace And other conuercacion vas not bytwene them in that behalf.

And saith that he neuer had not ony conuercacion wt the seid presr ne ony other chanon of the seid monastery in that matter.

And saith that the seid abbot hath been abbot

of the seid monastery about iiij yeres and this *respon*dent hath been chanon *pro*fessed in the said monastery by the space of xviij or xix yeres,

And saith that he thynketh in his consience that the seid abbot neu*er* spake ony such wordes ayenst the quene as ar writyned in the said bille but shurre the rather that the seid Harold and white conspired to accuse the seid abbot theref wrongfully. And saith that the seid Harold is of thage of xxiiij yeres or thrabout and hath been Chanon *pro*fessed in the same house abouet vij or viij or ix yeres. And saith that the seid vhite is of thage of xl yeres and hath been ser*f*unt in the house ther thys vij or viij yeres as this *respon*dent remebreth.

All whiche *pre*misses before confessed and declared by this *respon*dent in forme and man*er* aforeseid as well of the seid licence as also of the seid bille of accusacion and all other the *pre*misses this *respon*dent affyrmeth to be true in eu*er*y behalff by his othe which hath taken the Daie & yere abouesaid vpon the Holy Euangelist.

By me Richard Alforde[1].

XIX.

Tregonwell to Cromwell.

My humble dewty to youre lordshipe *pre*mysede. Pleasithe the same to be advertysede, that before my comyng ynto this contrie, hit was (by some lyght *per*sons) reportyde, that I shulde come hither w^t^ the kynge*s* grace*s* authoritye (by yo^r^ Lordships occasyon and comawndement) to take awaye the crosses,

[1] R. O. Letters and Papers, Henry VIII., x. 1126. Date, 1536.

chalysshes, and other yoelles[1] of the churches, by whom this reporte was furste made, hit ys not as yet knowen. I haue admonyshede Sir Hughe Trevanyon, Sir Willyam Gothollan, m^r^ Sayntabon and other gentill men of the same contrie to have a vigilant eye, and to doo ther dylygens to knowe the Authores therof. whoo haue promysyde to doo ther dylygens therin withe all dexteritye. The said reporte not withstonding, at my comyng into this scheire, I fownde as myche conformyte emongeste men, and as redye to obbaye the kinges authoryte, yn iniunccyons, and other orders declaryde to them, as euer I sawe any men obbey the same, yn soo myche that I dar affyrme to yo^r^ Lordshipe, that this contrye ys as quiet and trewe to the kyng owre soueraygne Lorde, as any shere w^t^yn his graces realme. by as myche as I can perceve this brewte begon by a Somner abowte Bridgewater, I trust to have hym at my retorne towardes crokehorne, wher I have appoyntide texamen him, w^t^ other as nede shall requyre. My Lorde bushope of Excetter, at my beyng yn Barystable, showyde me, that a pryste of Lawnceston callyde Sir Willyam Turner at the tyme that the buschops comissarye dyd syt thear, to taxe euery stipendarye priste to contribute to the payment of a rerage dewe to the kynges grace of the clergie, said that hit was a shame to the buschoppes that pristes shulde pay any more monye to the kyng, I have spoken w^t^ the said priste, and he denyethe the spekyng of any suche wordys and sayethe that he said that hit was noo reason that Crafton beyng collecto^r^ vnder the buschope shulde consume to his awne vse suche mony as was payede to hym for the kynges grace. I have put the same preste vndre sewertyes and at my comyng to Tauystoke I intende texamen that matter at large with all dilygens, and fyndyng the pryste giltye, to put hym to warde vnto the tyme the kynges

[1] i.e. Idols.

furder pleasure be knowen theryn. Yn that hit hathe pleaside the kynges highnes to grawnte at yo^r^ Lordships sewet and contemplacyon (as Sir Willyam Gothollan hathe declaryd here) that the festum loci of euery churche may be kepte hallye Daye as yn tymes paste the peopill of the Countrie be mervelowsly well pleasyde, and gevythe ther moaste humble thankes to the kinges magestye for the same, wherby also they doo accompte them selvys muche bownden to yo^r^ lordshipe. I trust that youre lordschipe shall not from hens forthe hyre that the sacrament of thalter shalbe irreverently handelyd as hit hathe byn yn tymes past yn Cornewell. The plage of pestolens rauythe hear very soar, yn soo myche that ther ys (almoast) noo place clear, by reason wherof I haue byn compellyde to alter my yorney Dyuers tymes to noo litle troble had hit not byn for fear of yo^r^ lordships displeasure wyche comawndyd me at my departyng from you to goo throughe w^t^owte furdre delaye I wolde have retornyd home to youre lordshipe ageyne, at my furst entry into Somersett schire. As knowithe owre lorde god, whoo preserue youre lordshipe withe encrese of myche honore. ffrome penryn the v daye of Septembre

Yo^r^ Lordschips moast

bownden Jo Tregonwell[1]

[Endorsed]

Docto^r^ Tregonwell sertefying cornyshemen to be very good subjectes & sacramentours

[Addressed]

To the right honorable and my synguler good, Lorde, Cromwell thes be delyueryde

[1] R. O. Letters and Papers, Henry VIII., xi. 405. Date, 1536.

XX.

The Abbot of Muchelney to Cromwell.

My synguler goode Lorde yn my moste humble wise I have me commendyd vnto your goode Lordeschippe very desyusse to here of your goode Lordeschippes prosperyte where yn I hartely praye gode Longe to preserue you, And where I have receavyd your Lovyng Letteres yn favor of master Rychard vuedalle your seruantt, & a cordyng to the tenure of the same have gyvyn hym vnder my coventt seale the kynges corrody late possessyd by John ffysscher clerke besekyng your good lordeschyppe that hytt maye plese you at your most convenyentt leysure to procure the kynges letteres to be dyrectyde vnto me yn favor of your sayde seruantt a cordyng to the olde accustomyde vse yn this be halffe yn advoydyng my power howsse from ferther trobble yn case sute (by any other) shulde be made to the kynges grace for the same, & to thententt your sayde servantt shulde be the more dylygentt to putt your Lordeshippe yn remembrance for the procuryng of the sayde Letters to be dyrectyd vnto me I have takyng bonde of hym by writyng oblygatory vntyll suche tyme that hytt be procuryd, for other wyse my coventt wulde nott grawnte ther seale As knowethe Jesus who have your goode Lordeshippe yn Longe preseruatyon wrtyn at Mochelney the vijth daie of deceber[1] by youre assuryd orator

Thomas Yue Abbott there[2]

[Endorsed]
Thabbot of Mochelney

[Addressed]
To my ryght honorable
& syngular good Lorde
my Lorde priuy seale
this be delyuerid.

[1] 1536.

[2] R. O. Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII., II. 1266.

XXI.

Thomas Yve Abbot of Muchelney to Cromwell.

Most humble recommendacions with all hartely thanks for your manyfold goodnesse towards me at all tymys. Advertysyng the same that I have receuyd your mynde by M^r^ Doctor Lee, concernyng forty pownds by Sargeante Thornton promysyd to your master schyppe yn parte of recompens of your paynys taken for me. Trewly, and by the faythe of an honest man I payyd to hym on C^li^ for your use onely, whoo axyd noo lesse of me for your paynys; where apon I dyd sende for the Executor be fore Mr Doctor, and he confessyd the resayte of the money. affyrmyng that hytt ys payyd to your master schypp. wherefore, I most hartely beseche you of your gentilnesse to schewe to this berer, Mr Cuffe, your mynde there yn, and of the receyte of the sayde money, so that apon your further certyfycate I maye by yo^r^ good helpe optayne the sayd money. And as concernynge your fee whiche I persayue by Mr Doctor that Mr Sargeante Thornton dyd promyse, I never dyd knowe thereof, but supposyd yo^r^ mastershippe to have byn contentyd with the sayde sum. All behytt I am contentyd to gyve you a fee, besechyng you for a tyme to take hytt yn good worthe. The berer knoweythe as it stondythe with me. And thus the Holy Trynytie preserve you. At Mochelney, the xv^th^ daye of June, by your owne to the moste of hys power and daylly orator

Thomas[1] Abbott

To the right worschipfull
master Cromewell, this
be delyuered with spede

[1] Ellis, Orig. Letters, 3rd ser. Vol. II. p. 334. Date, later than 1536, probably 1537.

XXII.

Henry Longe to Cromwell.

Right honorable and my singler gode lorde in my hartieste maner I recom*m*ende me vnto yo^{r} gode lordeshipe desiryng yo^{r} lordeshipe to be gode lorde vnto me to mocon the kyng*es* g*rac*e to be my gode & g*rac*yous lorde vnto me to helpe me to be his g*race*s ffarmer to the house of henton w^{t}yn the countye of som*ers*^{t}, the kyng*es* vysyto*r*s be in thise p*ar*ties now to suppresse dyu*er*se houses, I had neu*er* nothyng of his g*rac*e, And I am moche more chargied now than eu*er* I was vnlesse the kyng*es* g*rac*e be gode & g*racy*ous vnto me I shalbe fayne to geve ou*er* my house, and to gette me yn to som*e* corner. My speciall truste is vnto yo^{r} lordeshipe as o^{r} lord knowithe whom haue yo^{r} lordeshipe in his blyssed kepyng w^{t} longe lyffe and greate hono^{r}

yourys assuryd

Henry Longe[1]

[Endorsed]
Mr Longe for the howse of Henton in the countie Somerset.

[Addresed]
To the right honorable and my singler gode lorde my lorde prevy sealle and lorde Cromewell and one of the kyng*es* moste honorable Councell this be delyu*er*d w^{t} spede.

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp. xxiv. 5. This Sir Henry Longe was sheriff of Wilts. 1536—7. The probable date of this letter is 1537. As to Longe, a letter will be found abstracted in Gairdner, ix. 1123, which indicates his duties in the west. His name occurs in the Grants for 1535. G. viii. 149.

XXIII.

The Abbot of Glastonbury to Cromwell.

Right honorable my singler goode Lorde my dutie in recommendacions remembred vnto youre good Lordeshippe. Pleaseth itt youre saide goode lordeshippe to be aduertised thatt the xxiiijth daye of this moneth of Marche I received yo^{r} honorable and mooste lovinge lettres perceivinge by the same thatt youre lordeshippe pleasure ys thatt I shulde indelayedly graunte vnto yo^{r} serunte M^{r} Maurice Berkeley by my convent seall the maistershippe of the game, thoffice &, the kiper, and the herbage & pawnage of my parke of northwode in in Renercion after Thomas Alen my keper there. My good lorde soo itt is that the maistershipp of the game as well of that parke as of all wother my parkes be all redie graunted att the contemplacion of yo^{r} goode Lordeshipp vnto M^{r} John Wadhame yo^{r} serunte. And as touchinge the herbage & paunage of my said Parke, I haue made a lease therof to the saide Thomas Alen and one Robert Hyett for terme of vij yeres, wherof thre yeres be fullye past, yeldinge and payinge yerely for the same xxvij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} and also to fynde yerly sufficiente pasture for ij stallons xiiij mares and there ffoles and to leve sufficient pasture for one thousande dere, and sufficient hey for them in wynter, And to repaire & scoure all the dicheis within the pale att their propre costes & charges with diuers other convenantes conteyned in the same Leasse. And also the same Thomas Alen hath the kipinge of the said parke duringe the saide terme, ffor exercisinge wherof he hath yerely ffyve markes withoute any other profites or avauntages. And I am charged to the kinge for the saide partee accordinglye, My Singler good lorde by thes my lettres I haue aduertised youre good lordeshipp the truth of euery thinge concernynge yo^{r} pleasure and desir by

yo^{r} said honorable l*ettr*es wherefore the premisses considered by yo^{r} good Lordeshipp (in whom ys my sing*u*ler truste) I am veray well contented to accomplishe yo^{r} Lordeshippes pleasure, wherewith I shalbe as gladde as any man lyvynge as knoweth the blessed Trinitie whoo alwayes preserue yo^{r} good Lordeshipp in prosperous helth and hono^{r} Att Glastonbury the xxviij^{ti} day of March

Yo^{r} Lordeshipps assured bedeman

Ric Abbott ther[1]

[Endorsed]

Thabbot of Glaston
bury 28 of m*arch*

[Addressed]

To the right honorable and
myne especiall good Lorde
Thomas Lorde Cromwells
good Lordeshipp be this d*elivered*.

XXIV.

Thomas Legh to Cromwell.

Please it your Lordeship to be advertised, that the thirde daye of this moneth of Ianuary I began at Thabbey of Mochelney visitacion according to yo^{r} comyssion & instructions, where I fou*n*de thabbot very necligent in admynystrac*i*on and also diffamed of incontynency and ten brethern whiche all war ignorant and unlernyd, and in manor no s*er*vaunt*es* maynteynyd or hospitalite kept, and after examynation withe theym had, they all subscrybid to the instrument of their submyssion and surrender & sealyd the same withe their com*m*on seale & deliu*er*ed the same as their acte to me to thuse and

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp. xiii. 46. Probably 1537.

pleasure of our soue*r*ayne Lord the kyng, as apperithe by the same instrument, in the p*re*sens of dyvers knyght*es* and gentilmen there then being whiche doon and the seales delyveryd & defaced inventarys war made as well of all the moveables, whiche war very simpill and bare as eu*er* I see in suche a house, as a rent all of immoveables, which be very good, but the house indebted a bowte the poynte of iiij hundreth pound*es* besides ffees an*n*uytes & pensio*n*s to the yerely valew of xliij^{li} xij^{s}, The Bellis and Leade be good and moch the better because they war not easy to be alienate solde or carryed a waye and so after a direction taken for the bretherns lyving and seruaunt*es* according to a l*ett*re of Attorney geven to Mr Richard Phylippis by my Lord theare of Hartford I co*m*mytted the charge of the hole monastery and goodes to the custody of the said master Richard Philippes untill he shulde knowe further of the king is pleasure and youers, After this the ffyft daye of this monethe Thabbot having a sufficient letter of attorney for the same of his brethern appered before my Lord chief iustice & me, and there recognysed the instrume*n*t seale and subscription to be theirs and their owne voluntary dede & act and desired the same to be enrollyd in the king is chauncery or elliswhere for a p*er*petuall memory, and my sayde Lord chieff iustice for the more assurance toke a note of a fyne and also a note of recou*er*y the copy wherof w^{t} the sayde instrument I shall bring w^{t} me, to thintent that yo^{r} lordship maye use the one or the other, as shall be thought best, as knoweth God who send your Lordship a good new yere and many moe yere (?) of theym more fortunate & other to the pleasure of god & increase of moche honor, most hu*m*bly beseching yo^{r} lordship as my very trust is that no lighte coniecture or false surmyse cause yo^{r} Lordship to w^{t} drawe from me any p*ar*te of yo^{r} good harte whiche only I haue

sowghte and eu*er* shall, and ye shall never haue any cause to the contrary, and as I am dayly more bounde *to* moir so shall I be all wayes yo^{r}s w^{t} a faythfull harte & s*er*vice to com*m*aunde at your pleasure, stodying be all meanes to be an example of faythfulnes & gratitude as It eu*er* was & shall be myn*e* intent rather then the contrary as tyme shall evydently prove ffrom horsis melcom the vij daye of Ianuary

Yo Lordships eu^{r} to com*mand*

thomas Leigh[1]

[Endorsements]

To the right Honorabyll and his approved good Lord, my Lord prevy seall this be d*elivered*

[in another hand]

Doct^{r} Legh declaring the s^{r}rendo^{r} of Muchelney Abbay & Incotinencye of thabbott.

XXV.

Tregonwell & Petre to Cromwell.

O^{r} most bownden duetyes remembryd it may please yo^{r} good lordeshipp to bee aduertised thatt from dissoluing of the late monasterye of Keynsh*a*m, bicause Henton lay best in o^{r} waye, and att the request of the lord hungerfo^{r}d to whom yo^{r} lordeshipp wrote the king*es* highnes pleasure to bee thatt wee shuld leaue the demaynes of the same wee came thither yesternight, And immediately after o^{r} comyng entryd co*muni*cation w^{t} the prior^{r} ther, of the cause of o^{r} comyng, and roed vsche meannes and p*er*swasions vnto hym for this purpose as wee thought most met, And might best tak place in hym, whos awnswa^{rs} in

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., Vol. xxii. Probably 1538.

effect war thatt if the kinges maiestie wold take his howse so it procedyd nott of his voluntary surrendar he was contentyd to obey, butt otherwise he sayd his conscience wold nott suffer hym wyllingly to giue ouer the same, in mend After long comunication he desiryd delay to make vs awnswar vn to this morning, att which tyme wee eftsones vsing lyke diligence in perswading hym as wee dyd befor he declaryd hym self to be of the same mynd he was yesternight, or rather more styff in the same. In comunication wt the covent wee perceyvnd them to be of the same mynd the prior was, and hadd moche lyk awnswars of them as wee hadd of the prior (iij exceptyd whiche war conformable) And amonges the rest one Nycholas Baland mounte ther being incidently examyned of the kinges highnes tylle of supremacye, expresly denyed the same affyrming the bisshopp of Rome to be the vicar of Christ, and thatt he is and ought to be taken for supreme hedd of the churche, The Prior and other shewyd vs that this balande hath byn in tymes past and yett many tymes is lunatyk, wee haue nott yett doon any thing touching this man, butt (nott putting hym in any fear) have lett hym remayne vnto yor lordeshippes furthar pleasure be knowin herin, In the premisses it may please yor lordeshipp to declare yor pleasure unto vs whiche knowin we shall according to or most bownden duetyes conform orselfes accordingly. And in the mean tyme bicause wee thought thatt thother Charter howse takyng example by this wyll nott conform themself, we haue determyned (yor lordeshippes pleasure savyd) to differ the same vnto or return, Thus allmight' god haue yor good lordeshipp in his most blessyd keping ffrom henton the xxvjth of Januarye

Yor lordships most bownden

JOHN TREGONWELL

Yo[r] lordeshippes most bownden beadesman and suant

WILLIAM PETRE J[1].

[Endorsed]
Docto[r] Tryonweth and docto[r] petre about dyssoluing Abbayes

[Addressed]
To the Ryght honorable and o[r] most singla[r] good lord the lord pryvey seall

XXVI.

TREGONWELL SMYTH & PETRE TO CROMWELL

Oure moste bounden duetyes remembred, yt maye please yo[r] good Lordeshippe to be aduertysed that sythens o[r] laste letres we haue w[t] as goode expedicon as we myght taken surrender of the howses of Sainete Johnes in Wellis, S[t] Johnes in Brydgewater, Athelney, Bucklande Monialium, Tawnton, Dunkswell Chanonlegh & polstowe, & in all thies howses haue founde as moche conformyttes as myght be desyred. Savyng that in many of theym we haue founde great waste & many leasses of late passed which neuerthelesse we haue stayed & called in agayn as nyer as we myght. And by cause we wolde as moche as in vs is, take awaye thoccasion of attemptyng the lyeke in other howses, we haue thought good having now receyved from yo[r] Lordeshippe the comyssion in which m[r] pollarde ys joyned w[t] vs, to devyde ow[r] selves, soo that ij of vs beyng at one howse thother ij may in the same tyme dispasche an other by which mean we thinke we shall not onely staye many suche wastes and spoyles as beyng passed before o[r] comying coulde neuer be recouvered agayne, but also (as we truste) make an ende of all

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., XLIII. 74. Date, 1539.

thother comytted vnto vs by yo^{r} lordeshippe before Thanunciac*i*on of o^{r} ladye, wherby shall remayne to the king*es* maiestie the halfe yeres rente of those howses, and yet passe all other thing*es* as moche to the king*es* highnes p*ro*fecte as we were all togeither, we thinke ther will be a great soome of money that shalbe salved to the king*es* highnes therbye, Oure p*ur*pose herein we thinke o^{r} moste bounden dueties to signyfye vnto youre lordeshippe to knowe yo^{r} pleas^{r} in the same, In the mean tyme we shall as we eu*er* hithertoo haue doone endevo^{r} o^{r} selves according to o^{r} moste bounden dueties & yo^{r} goode lordeshippes adu*er*tysement (for the which we moste humblye thanke the same) to doo all thing*es* as farre as o^{r} poore witt*es* will s*er*ve as circumspectly for the p*ro*-fecte of the king*es* maiestie as we maye, moste humbly beseechyng yo^{r} lordshippe to take o^{r} procedyng*es* herein in good parte, and to signyfie vnto vs yo^{r} further pleasure touching bruton & henton to the dispatche wherof wee thinke we shalbe redye (yo^{r} lordeshipp*es* pleasure soo standing) by the retourne of this messenger, And thus we pray godde to haue yo^{r} lordeshippe in his blessed keyping ffrom Exceto^{r} the xx^{t} daye of ffebruarye

Yo^{r} Lordships most bownden
JOHN TREGONWELL

Yo^{r} lord*es* shipp*es* most bownden
beade*s* man and s*er*uant
WILLIAM PETRE J

Yo^{r}s eu*er*more to comaunde
JOHN SMYTH[1].

[Endorsed]
John Tregonwell, Willi*a*m Petre & John Smyth } certefying what

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., XLIII. 70. Date, 1539.

Abbayes they haue taken
into the kinges handes by
surrender in the west partes

[Addressed]
To the right honourable
and o^r^ syngule ^r^ good lorde
the Lorde Privie seale

XXVII.

Pollard & Petre to Cromwell.

O^r^ most bownden duetyes remembryd it may please yo^r^ lordeshipp to bee aduertised that this day (the surrenda^r^ of the late monasterye of fford being before by vs taken) wee resortyd to the priorie of montigue for the execution of the kinges highnes commission ther, wher after long ? communication w^t^ the prior And as many persuasions for the setting forthe of the king graces pleasure in this behalf as wee cowd devise, wee fownd the prio^r^ in lyke obstinacy as wee hadd befor fownd thabbott of bruton. And by so moche as by his awnswars we might coniecture ther hadd byn some pryvey conference between them in this mater, before our commyng he hadd leassyd allmost all his demeynes to dyvers persones. The premisses weehaue thought our bownden duetyes to signifye vn to yo^r^ lordeshipp being att all tymes Redye to do furthar merin as yo^r^ lordeshipp shall commawnd vs Thus wee pray god haue yo^r^ good lordeshipp in his most blessyd keping
ffrom Montigue the x^th^ of marche

Yo^r^ lordship to comaunde

Hugh Pollard

Yo^{r} lordeshippes most bounden beades man
and svant

William Petre[1] J.

[Endorsed]
To the Right honorable
and o^{r} most singlar good
lorde the lord pryvey.
seale

XXVIII.

Tregonwell & Petre to Cromwell.

Pleaseth it your goode Lordeshippe to be aduertised yesterday (the surrendo^{r}s of the monasteries of Shaftisbury and Wilton beyng before vs taken) we came to Ambresbury, and there communyd w^{t} thabbasse for thaccomplishmente of the kinges highnes comyssion in lyke sorte, and albeyt we have vsed as many wayes with her as o^{r} poore wittes cowde atteyne, yet in the ende we cowde not by any persuasions bringe her to any conformytie but at all tymes she restid and soo remayneth in thies termes, yf the kynges highnes commaunde me to goo from this howse I will gladlye goo though I begge my breade, And as for pension I care for none, in thies termes she was in all her conuersacion praying vs many tymes to trouble her no furth^{r} herein for she had declared her full mynde in the which we myght playnlie gath^{r} of her wordes she was fully fixed before o^{r} comyng. This we have thought goode according to o^{r} moste bounden Dueties to signyfye vnto yo^{r} lordishippe, redye w^{t} all our powers to accomplishe

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., Vol. xxxiii. No. 28. Montacute Surrendered the 20th Mar., 1539, Ap. ii. 8th Rep. Dep. Keep. Pub. Records, p. 32. See too for these surrenders, Dixon, Vol. 2, pp. 115, &c.; the most connected account.

that yo^{r} lordishippe shall furth^{r} commaunde vs herein. We have sent to Bruton agayn & yesterday had aunswe^{r} from thens that thabbott as yet ys at London. We truste to fynish the reste of the buysynes by yo^{r} Lordeshippe comytted vnto vs before Easter, and soo w^{t} as moche spede as we may to wayte vppon yowe And declare the full of all o^{r} procedyng*es* herein.

Thus prayeng allmyghtie god to haue yo^{r} Lordishippe in his moste blessyd kepyng. Ffrom Ambresbury the xxxth of march

Yo^{r} Lordships most bownden

JOHN TREGONWELL.

Yo^{r} Lord*e*shipp*es* most bownden
beade*s*man and se*r*vant

WILLIAM PETRE I.

Yo^{r} Lordshipp*es* alwayes most bounden

JOHN SMYTH[1].

[Endorsed]

M^{r} tregonwel
M Doctour peter J
M^{r} smyth to my
Lorde priue seal
xxx^{o} marcii
Shafton Wylton surrendred
Thabbes of Ambresbury will
not s^{r}.

[Addressed]

To the right hono^{r}able
and o^{r} moste singuler
goode Lorde the Lorde
Privie Seale

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., XLIII. 69. Date, 1539.

XXIX.

Layton to Cromwell.

Pleasithe your Lordeshipp to be aduertised That wher as I vnderstande by Mr Pollarde ye muche marvill whie I wolde so greatly praise to the kingis maiestie at the tyme of the visitation thabbot of Glaston whiche now appearithe nether then nor now to have knowyne God nether his prynce nother anny p*ar*te of a good christin man his religion, so that my excessive and indiscrete praise that tyme unaduisidly made to my sovereigne Lorde, muste nedes now redownde to my greate foly & untrewthe, and cannot be well redubbede[1] but much dymynishe my creditte towardis his magestie, and evyne so to your lordeshipp whome I most humblie beseche to consider that I am a man, and may err and cannot be sure of my iudgementt to knowe the inwarde thoughte of a monke, being fayre in wordly and owtward apparaunce, And inwardly cankeride as now by yo^{r} discrete inquisition apperithe, And althougth that they all be fals fayned, flatteringe, ypocrite knaves as undoubtedly ther is none other of that sorte, I must therfor now at this my necessytie, most humblie beseche yo^{r} Lordeshippe to p*ar*done me for that my foly then comittide as ye have done manny tymes heretofore, And of yo^{r} goodnes to mitigate the Kingis highnes maiestie in the premisses And from henseforthe I shalbe more circumspectt, whom I shall commende either to his grace or to your Lordeshipp. This shalbe an experience for euer in suche behalfe. your lordeshippe therefor so continew my father in this commonwelthe as ye have begone I most humblie beseche, and that I may continew under yo^{r} tuission as your most bown-

[1] ? rebutted.

dene and assured seruants whiche neuer hade byne but a baskett berer but only by your goodnes. Thus I pray god to continew yo^{r} Lordeshipp w^{t} increase Ffrom Readinge the xvj day of september yo^{r} lordeshippes moste humblie to commaunde

Ric Layton[1] p'st

[Endorsed]

The Right honorable and my singuler good lorde my lorde previe seale.

[in another hand]

Richard Layton preeste in excuse that he had commended the abbot of Glaston who was a traytor.

XXX.

Layton to Cromwell.

hit may please yo^{r} Lordeship to be aduertissed that forasmoche as at my laste beying w^{t} yowe then deluerynge yo^{r} lordshipes letters frome the covent of wittham for a ferme of thers wiche ther letters (as I myght coniecture by my letters then also sent from them unto me) purportede not so full a graunte unto yo^{r} Lordeshipe as I coolde they shulde. I therfore immediatly affter my departure from y^{r} to Harowe sent my seruant unto them w^{t} newe letters persuasoiue, willying them to make unto yowre Lordeshipe a full & a faste promes forasmoche as in them was, whiche thyng I suppos they haue done as I may coniecture by ther letters wiche there inclosede I sende unto y^{r} and in casse a brabullyng felowe one basing make any sute unto y^{r} lordeshipe for any former graunt the foolisshe prior shulde at any tyme make hym w^{t} y^{t} ye haue nothyng to do, the hole covent now hathe made yowe agraunte, the priores graunte w^{t}oute the covent is nothyng yo^{r}es is sure.

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., xx. 14.

shake ye off therfor lightly such besye gentilmen*es* medelyng in eure matters. what yo^{r} lordeshipe shall com*m*aunde me further in this or any othere yo^{r} affair*es*, I am and eu*er* shalbe redy at yo^{r} com*m*aundement. thus I p*ra*y thu p*re*sue yo^{r} lordeshipe long in honoure w^{t} increasse fro*m* harowe xvij^{o} octobris by yo^{r} Lordeshippes moste assurede to com*m*aunde

RICHARDE LAYTON[1] Prest

[Endorsements]

Oct xvij Docto^{r} Layton.

To the right honorable and my veray goode lorde my Lorde Cromwell Lorde priue seale.

XXXI.

VISITORS TO CROMWELL.

Pleasithe hitt yo^{r} Lordeshippe to be aduertisede. That wher as in our former l*ett*res we hade forgottine to asserteyne yo^{r} lordeshippe of suche spi*ritu*alties as ar comyne to o^{r} handis apperteynyng to this house, now we let yo^{r} lordeshipp to witte that they amounte to twoo thowsaunde pound*es* and above. And as tuching other newies to asserteyne yo^{r} lordeshipp as yet we knowe none. Thus almighty god haue yo^{r} lordeshipp in his tuission ffrom Glaston the xv day of this mointhe

Yo^{rs} te comand

RYCHARD POLLARD
THOMAS MOYLE
RICHARDE LAYTON[2].

[Endorsed]

To the rythe honorable and our singular good Lorde my lorde prevy seale

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., xx. 27.

[2] *Ibid.* xxxiii. 38.

XXXII.

The monks at Athelney ready to resign.

Forasmoche as ytt plesythe yowre lordschipe to haue knolege how I dyd my message to ye Abbott off Athelne & what say*nges* was betwene hy*m* & me, I haue send yowre lordshype thys letter, ffirste for ye trewe declaration off my message to ye Abbot off Athelne frome my lord my master the lord Audley. I found ye sayd Abbott in the chyrche cu*myn*ge frome masse at the hour off x off ye clok before nowne, and as reuere*n*tly as I cude, I delyude the sayd my lord*es* and masters letters & shewyd hy*m* yo my lord Audley recom*m*endyd hy*m* se*lf* to hy*m*, and ye sayd Abbott answeryd, I a*m* glade to here off my lord*es* wellfare and so he rede hys letter, & sayd, gt w^{t} me to my cha*m*bere and ye shall know my mynde, and I followd hy*m* the saide Abbot, and sodynly he stayed & sayd, what ys my lord Audley, a ma*n* off ye new sett or arfter ye olde sorte, My lord sayd I, he ys after ye beste sorte & lyke a kind harte subiecte to ye king*es* grace and a gud Englyshe ma*n* y^{t} lovythe all ye realme, well sayd y^{e} abbott dow ye thyngke he dowthe nott judge there will be a nother worlde schortly my lorde sayd I, there wyll be a nother worlde whe*n* we be oute off thys worlde, but y*n* thys I thyngk thare was neue*r* so gracius a prynce as y^{e} kyng*es* grace is that now ys for he lovethe v*ir*tew and wyll poynysse vyse, where w^{t} the abbott schoke hys hede, & sayd. here you no new tydyng*es* off thys gret co*un*sell beyonde y^{e} see. no my lorde sayde I thare ys no matter to be passed apon off there co*un*sell, for y^{e} kynge wyll provyd seurely Inoyrhg[1] for all soche matters, and thare w^{t} I was yn a stewde, for I wyst nott what that

[1] i.e. enough.

matters mente, and then the Abbatt sayd well, yff I wyste what would come off thes matters I wolde be sowne at a hoynse wt my lorde, wt yt ye abbatt went forthe & sayde I will wryte a letter to my Lorde, and ye shall know my mynde, and thene he went to hys chambre, were he callyd me secrett un to hym and sayd ys yt nott my lordes mynde to have me resyne my house to hym, no my lorde sayd I, but yt may fortune apone a good consideracions & causes why he wolde have yow to resyne yowre howse yn ye kynges hand, and men sayd he owre howse shuld be dystrowyd and all ye contre undone by that menys as yt ys a bowt mytchylne, no my lorde sayd I, my Lord master wyll come & dwell here & I thynke he wyll be a peticioner to ye kynges heynesse to have some parte off ye order here as yt ys att saynt mare autre[1], whyche I sayd somewhat to satisffy the abbottes mynde. why sayd he then what shulde I have, my lord sayde I, I dare undertake that yff ye wyll be counsellyd and advysyd by my lorde, he wyll gett yow a c markes and he wyll gett yow some prebent off ye Bysshope off sarum whereby ye shall were a gray ammys & all yowre brethers shall be provyded for and shall have seruessys and promocyones as shall be mette for thame, well sayd ye abbott & sthuke upe hys hand, iff I wolde have takyn a c marks a yere, I cude have ben stede or thys tyme, but I wyll faste iij days bred and water than take so lytyll, My Lorde sayd I, I speke wt ye leste ye shall fynde my lorde myche better when ye speke wt hym, whell sayde he agayne, yff I wyste what wolde come off ytt, I wold be fayne att a poyncte, and thare wt he sett hym downe & ette bred & butter & mayd me ette wt hym, and afterwarde wrote hys letter to my lorde whyche I resayuyd and he bade

[1] Referring according to Father Gasquet to some undiscovered instance where a part of the convent was allowed to stay on in the monastery. There was a foundation St Mary Auncrewyke.

me schew my lorde he wold folow hys advyse, and then I wente to y^e^ stewarde y^t^ was off my olde aquantans & dynyde w^t^ hym & thare was most part off all the brethyryne off ye howse, wyche sayd w^t^ one voyse, that thay ware all glade to be advysyd by my Lorde, and to yelde thare howse & landes ynto y^e^ kynges handes at my sayd lorde & masteres requeste & Desyre, where w^t^ I was vere glade, and then thay sayd yei knew well yff my sayd lorde wolde take y^e^ payns to come to that powre howse thare master & thay all wolde surely be ordert by my Lordes advyse & counsell yn resynynge of thare howsse & landes ynto y^e^ kynges handes & thus we mayd mere togethere and departyd w^t^ owt any more wordes to be writtyn off any substans as I wyll take yt apone my charge as I wyll answere betwyne goode & me, and thys Iesu send you encresse of honer & harytes ese wrytyn at holford the second day of nouembre

from yowre powre chaplane
parson off holford[1]

My lord I dare take yt on lyffe & dethe y^t^ dame harre poynys can nott deuyse syche a lett^r^ as ys send to yowre lordschype

[1] MSS. Cotton, Cleop. E. iv. Most of this letter appears in Father Gasquet's second vol. p. 301. From Father Gasquet personally I had considerable assistance in regard to the writing, which is obscure, as also in many other matters connected with this essay. Athelney resigned, 8 Feb. 1538. The Rector of Holford at this time was John Dycensen (Weaver, *Somers. Incumbents*, p. 378).

XXXIII.

E. Hord prior of Hinton Charterhouse to his brother.

Jhus.

In Owr Lord Jhsu shall be yowr Salutation. And where ye marvelle that I and my brotherne do nott frelye and voluntarilie geve and surrendure upe owr Howse at the mocyone off the Kyngs Commissinars, but stonde stifflye (and as ye thinke) obstinatelye in owr opynion, trulye Brothere I marvelle gretly that ye thynke soo; but, rather that ye wolde have thowght us lyghte and hastye in gevyn upe that thynge whyche ys not owrs to geve, but dedicate to Allmyghtye Gode for service to be done to hys honoure contynuallye, with other many good dedds off charite whiche daylye be done in thys Howse to oure Christen neybors. And considerynge that ther ys no cause gevyn by us why the Howse shull be putt downe, but that the service off Gode, religious conversacion off the bretherne, hospitalite, almes deddis, with all other owr duties be as well observyde in this poore Howse as in eny relygious Howse in thys Realme or in Fraunce; whiche we have trustyde that the Kinges Grace wolde considere. But by cause that ye wrytte off the Kyngs hye displeasure and my Lorde Prevy Sealis, who ever hath byn my especialle good Lorde, and I truste yette wyll be, I wyll endevere my selffe, as muche as I maye, to perswade my brotherne to a confformyte in thys matere; soo that the Kyngs Hynes nor my sayd good Lorde shall have eny cause to be displeside with us: trustyng that my poor brothern (whiche knowe not where to have theme lyvynge) shall be charitable

looke uppon. Thus owr Lord Jhesu preserve yow in Grace.

Hent' x die ffebruarii.

E. HORD[1].

To hys brother Alen Horde in medylle Tempulle dd.

XXXIV.

SIR THOMAS ARUNDELL TO CROMWELL.

Hit may lyke youre good lordschip to understond that In rydyng downeward to cornwall and passyng by the monastary off Clyffe hyryng schuche lamentasyon for the Dyssolusyon theroff and In the cuntre opynly brutyd that the kinges hyghnes had att youre lordschipes sute pardonid the sayd monastary. and hauyng now schuche occasyan that I was fayne to send up to mastr chanseler off the augmentasion to knoe surly whether I schuld Dyssolue the sayde howse for as moche as I had receved his letteres off dyssolusion for the resydue in the counte of Sommersett and that as I thynke by sartine lefte oute and for

[1] Ellis, *Orig. Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. II. p. 131. Hinton surrendered, 31st Mar., 1538 (App. II. Eighth Rep. Dep. Keeper of the Public Records, p. 23). Alan Horde was a bencher of the Middle Temple, and was really half-brother to Edmund. See *The Genealogist*, New Ser. vol. II. p. 46, also *Misc. Geneal. et Herald.* New Ser. vol. IV. p. 138. Edmund Horde was much respected by his brethren in the order, and Archbishop Lee and Cromwell made use of him to influence the Convents. For his history cf. Brewer, *Letts. and Pap. Hen. VIII.* vol. IV. pt. II. no. 4221; Gairdner, *Letts. and Pap. Hen. VIII.* vol. VIII. nos. 402, 778, 901, 1011; vol. IX. nos. 12, 49; vol. XI. no. 75. In vol. VIII. no. 402 is a letter to Cromwell from Horde dated 17 March, 1535, thanking him for his kindness.

lake off remembranes he hauyng att that tyme in hand many other gret materes thought I culd not omitt nor leve off schuche occasyon but to Desyre your lordschip in the behalfe off all the honest gentill men in that quarter to renve and eftsones to make petysyon to the kynges hyghnes ffor the stondyng off the sayd howse wherin ther is xvij prystes off very honest lyfe and conversasion and haue kepte all wayes grett hospytalyte to the relyffe off the cuntre. so that my lord wtoute doubte yff hit myghte plese the kynges hyghnes off his grasius goodnes to pardon them in my pore mynde his grase schuld pardone schuche as were as warthy as some other and as I perseve the kynges hyghnes had sufferid them to haue contynued yff hit had not beyne fownd by us that were the kynges surveyures off gretter valur then hit was sett att the furst survey but good my lord ye doo as well know as any man that the abbott was not In defaulte theroff for when the collectur came to the abbott for the xth mony accordyng to the furst survey the abbott made allwayes awnser that he ought to pay mor and so payed accordyng to the later survey whyche was the consyderasion that the kynges was ones so grasyus att youre Desyre to the sayde howse wherfor good my lord put ones more the kynges hyghnes In remeboranes off his grasius goudnes to the sayde howse and they wyll gladly geve unto his grase one thowsand markes to be payed at dayes resonabull and for your parte ye shall have ther contynvall prayer and the harty good wyll off ryche and poure ther abowte abydyng and surly my lord I wold haue gevyne the aventur to haue spokyn wt the kynges Hyghnes savyng I dowtyd that his grase schuld haue notyd me to haue byne coruptyd and god is my Juge I doo not loke for any reward therfor for the howse is not ryche as I am sure ye know and I wold to god that the good Kyng knewe that I know In this mater and then were ther no

dowbte but hit schuld be as I wold wyche as our lord knoweth who send youre good lordschip good and long lyffe ffrom saynt colombe In cornwall by youre own att commandmentt.

THOMAS ARUNDELL[1].

XXXV.

SIR THOMAS ARUNDELL TO CROMWELL.

In my moste lowlye wyse it may like yo[r] good Lordeshipe to be aduertised that I haue receyued yo[r] honorable lettres by the whiche I perceyve the kynges highnes plesur[e] is that I shulde dyspossesse John Drewe of Bristoll (whom the Chauncelo[r] of thaugmentacons had commaundid me in his highnes name to put in possession of the parsonages belonginge to the late monastrie of Bruton) And to put in possession of the said parsonages Master Mores Berkeley, whom Immediatelye vpon the receyte of yo[r] Lordships letters I did put in possession of the premysses. And wher I thoughte to haue surveid the said parsonages (yff the said John Drewe had contynewed theryn) to the kynges highnes advauntage, I do not nowe thinke to su[r]vey the thinge of any lesse valewe to the behofe of Master Berkeley,

[1] MSS. Cotton, Cleop. E. IV. Full particulars of Sir Thomas Arundel will be found in W. H. Rogers's *The Strife of the Roses... in the West*, p. 160 &c. Arundel was second son of Sir John Arundel, was of the Court party, and received Shaftesbury Abbey though a Catholic. He also purchased Wardour. Under Edward VI. he was executed for conspiring against Northumberland (26 Feb. 1551–2). He had been knighted at the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533 (Metcalfe, *Book of Knights*, 64). Cf. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* vol. II. art. Arundell, Sir Thomas; also App. II. Fourth Rep. Dep. Keep. of Publ. Rec. p. 230.

but even to have the thinge as it hathe byn before tyme valewid, whiche so lefte wilbe a right honeste thinge. And one of the best as I haue lerned that is in all this contrey And I do not dowbte but in so doynge I shalbe fr my *par*te dyscharged consideringe that master Berkley hathe it as of the kyng*es* highnes gyfte in consider*a*cion of a erneste peny & in p*ar*te of a recompence of his *ser*uyce, And althoughe it be thoughte to dyuerse to be righte profytable yet in my opynyon it is not so good as I wolde wishe it were for his sake as or Lorde knowethe who send yor Lordeshipe good and longe Lyf ffrom Shaftisbury the xxjth daye of Apryll

Youre lordschipp most bow*n*dne

THOMAS ARUNDELL[1].

[Endorsed]
Sr Thomas Arundell.

[Addressed]
To the right honorable
and my very singlier
good Lorde my Lorde
privye Seale.

XXXVI.

NICHOLAS WADHAM TO CROMWELL.

Pleasith it yor mastershipe to be adu*er*tised that by yor informac*i*on the kyng*es* grace hath excepted or doyngs at Tauton in the repr*es*ynge of the Rebellyons that ther of late wer reysen better then of my p*ar*te I was worthe, beynge very glade that the kyng*es* grace & you do so repute the same, And to my Lytell

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., i. 84.

powre I haue ben alweys redy to do his grace shuch *ser*uys as hath Lyen in me. And shalbe dewrynge my lyf wherfor *sir* I shall besech you to be so goode master to me as to move the kynge that I maye haue some thynge to helpe me w^t^all nowe in my Later days of hys geyfte whate so eu*er* it shall please his grace And you for the *ser*uys I haue done in tyme paste And in yo^r^ thus doyng I truste partly to reco*m*pense yo^r^ gentylnes besyd*es* any pleas^r^ or *ser*uys that Lyeth in me, the which ys And shalbe At yo^r^ com*m*aundyment whils I leyf As knowith o^r^ Lorde who eu*er* p*reser*ue yo^r^ goode mastirshipe, wryten At meryfelde the v^th^ daye of June.

Youres asurydli
whyle y leve
NYCOLAS WADHAM[1].

[Endorsed] S^r^ Nycholas Wadham.

[Addressed] To the Right hono^r^able master secrytarye

XXXVII.

SIR GILES STRANGWAYS TO CROMWELL.

Right honorable and my especiall good Lord my dewtie Reme*m*beryd Pleassith youre Lordship I haue Receyuid yo^r^ louyng lett*er* datyd at London the

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., XLVI. 2. There are other letters from Wadham of the same nature numbered 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 in the same volume. In one there is another reference to the Taunton disturbance. In another he asks to have the office of High Sheriff for another year. Particulars of this family will be found in Rogers's *Memorials of the West*, p. 147, &c.

xxvijth day of Januarii. wherby I perceyue youre Lordship is Informyd that I haue certayn lande*s* in Norff*olk* & Suff*olk* my Lord truth is I haue noo lande*s* in nather of thes shyers wherfore I am not Alytill sore that I cannot Accomplish yo^{r} pleasso^{r} therin ffor iff I hadde Any Lande*s* ther or elswher that lyeth comodiously for yo^{r} Lordeship ye shall haue me always conformable According to yo^{r} said lett*er* with god is grace who eue*r* kep youre Lordship in much hono^{r} to his pleasso^{r} ffrom my poore hows this xix^{t} day of ffabruarii by youres vnfeynyd at his power

GYLLES STRANGWAYS[1] kgt

[Endorsed] Sir Gyles
Strangeways

[Addressed]
To the Ryght hono-
rable my Lorde
prevay Seall.

XXXVIII.

HARRY CAPELL TO CROMWELL.

Righte hono^{r}able and my very good lorde after my moste humble com*m*endacion vnto yo^{r} good lordeshipp pleasith hit youe to be advertysed that one John Bradye a se*r*ua*n*te of myne hath attached one Edward Loxton of the p*a*rysshe of Obley yn the Countie of Som*er*set, for certeyn heynous wordes by hym spoken ageynst yo^{r} lordeshipp, whose accu-

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., XLI. 15. Cromwell probably had dealings with Strangways as to lands in Essex, Cf. Legh to Cromwell 10 Ap. 1537 (*Letts. & Pap. Hen. VIII.* 1537, Vol. I. p. 398). As to the Strangways family see Hutchins' *Dorset* II. 661. Sir Giles was a notable man at the Court (cf. *Chron. of Calais*, ed. J. G. Nichols, Camd. Soc.) and 33 Henry VIII. the Abbey of Abbotsbury was granted to him (cf. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, Dorset I.)

sacion I haue sent vnto youe herein enclosed, and I haue caused hym to be broughte before my lorde Awdelly m^r^ Porteman and other the kinges Justices, who as yet haue taken no other ordre w^th^ hym, but comytted hym to warde, tyll yo^r^ lordeshippes pleasure herein be ferder knowen. And ferder hit may please you to be advertysed, That one John Smyth^es^ another of my servunts hathe attached and broughte before me A certeyn pryeste whose name ys Sir John lyle curate of the parysshe of weynketon yn the Countie of Somerset, who trayteroisly & contrary to the kinges injunccions, in his portues and other bookes, hathe not abrogated the name of Thomas Bekett and suche other thinges, as more at lardge hit shall appere vnto yo^r^ good lordeshipp yn his accusacion, which also I haue sent vnto youe herein enclosed, and haue commytted hym to the gaole. Desiring yo^r^ good lordeshipp to knowelege yo^r^ lyke pleasure therein, which knowen I shall accomplysshe by godes grace, who preserue yo^r^ good lordeshipp in longe prosperite and helthe. Wyke the xxj^th^ day of Aprill

yo^rs^ assured to hys little power
HARRY CAPELL[1]

[Endorsed]
Herry Capell That a preaste had not put out of his portuys Tho Becketes name &c.

[Addressed]
To the righte honorable and hys very good lorde the lorde privey seale be thys yeven.

XXXIX.

THE ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY TO CROMWELL.

Right honorable my singler good Lorde my dutie accordingly remembrede vnto youre good Lordeshipp

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., VII.

pleaseth it the same to be aduertised I haue received youre honorable and mooste lovinge *lett*res dated from London the xviijth daye of Octobre writen in the fauo^{r} of your s*er*uante M^{r} Maurice Barkeley for the rentes of the ferme of Northwode parke which att the contemplac*i*on of youre good Lordeshipp he hath taken by leasse of me & my convente My good lorde I am and alwayes shalbe right gladde that he shall haue occupie and enioye the saide parke accordinge to the graunte and leasse made to hym therof with all profites rentes comodities & adu*a*ntages within the same parke with all my harte, trustinge that accordinge to the graunte therof he woll thereby require none other of my rentes withoute the saide parke, My singler good lorde I hartely besech youe contynue my good lorde as ye be and alwayes hitherto haue ben And I shall be youre contynuall poore bedeman as my mooste bounden dutie ys duringe my lif, by grace of the hooly trinitie who always haue your honorable good Lordeshipp in his blessed tuicon, ffrom Glastonbury the xxviijth daye of octobre.

Yo^{r} bedeman

Ric Abbatt ther [1]

[Endorsed]

The Abbot of Glastonbury
The xxviij day of Octobr

[Addressed]

To the right honorable and
myne especiall good Lorde
my Lorde privey Seals
good Lordeshipp be this d*elivere*d.

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., xiii. 48.

XL.

The Abbot of Glastonbury to Cromwell.

My veray goode Lorde after due recommendacons vnto yo^r^ goode Lordeshipp Thus is aduertisinge youe, thatt where I haue in the right of my monastere, certen parkes with game, alwayes at my mooste high & souerayugne princes pleasure & comawndemente in case his grace shulde haue course (att his will) in thies parties, & my friendes pleasure, which game by dispoyle is moch decayed, as this bringer my ffrende can full well declare, whom hartely besech yo^r^ good Lordeshipp credite, And in thatt your fauo^r^ & remedie which may be by youre goodenes hadde, ye shall bynde me gladly to requite the same as my litle power shall extende. Wherof I shall nott faile as knoweth Jhesu whoo euer preserue you in moch hono^r^ Att my poore house of Sturmester Castell the xxvj^ti^ day of January

Yo^r^ assured bedesman

Ric Abbott of Glaston [1].

[Endorsed]

Thabbott of Glaston

[Addressed]

To the right honorable
S^r^ Thomas Lorde Cromwell
Lord Prevey Seales goode
Lordeshippe be this delivered.

XLI.

The Abbot of Glaston to Cromwell.

My right singler goode Lorde after due comendacons, pleaseth youe to be aduertised that I haue

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., xiii. 47.

received youre gentle *lett*res, dated the vjth day of this moneth p^{r}porting thimpetracon of thadvoussaunte of Batcombe in Somersett shire, together with an advousaunte redie writen, which ye desired to be graunted & sealed vnder oure convente seale. The truth (my veraye good Lorde) is, thatt M^{r} Docto^{r} Tregonwell, att his instaunte desire & contemplacon, hath obteigned the same, for a nygh friende of his, that wee cannott accomplishe youre desier therin, nor almooste with any suche other thatt ar worth thank*es*. But my good Lord we haue one parsonage lying farre from vs in North Wiltishire called Netilton yett remaynynge in oure handes to gyve, the advousaunt wherof wee haue sent unto youre Lordeshipp by this bringer Trustinge muche and neuerthelesse hartely prayinge youe contently taccepte the same, which we wolde were as goode as anye we may yeve for youre pleasure as knowith o^{r} Lorde God whoo p*reser*ue youe in Contynuaunce of lyf with moche hono^{r}, Att the rude house of Sturmester Castell the xth daye of ffebruary

yo^{r} aone assured

Ric Abbatt of Glaston[1]

[Endorsed] Thabbot of Glaston
February x^{o}

[Addressed] To the right honorable
S^{r} Thomas Cromwell
Knight, Lorde Cromwells
good Lordeshippe be this
d*elivered*.

[1] R. O. Crom. Corresp., xiii. 49. There is a letter from the Prior of Bath to Cromwell, dated Feb. 7 1537, in *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII.* vol. xii. pt. i. no. 360, giving Cromwell an annuity of £5.

Surrender of Montacute Priory.

per me Robertum Gybys alias Whytelocke.

Robert Warynar. Tomas Tauntor.

Thomas Ham. Wyllyam Dyer. John Crybe. Jhon Webb. John Symmys. Wyllyam Wynter. John Thorn. Wyllyam Cresse. Wyllyam Rogeres. Robert Shaptun.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Robertus Shyrborne alias Whitlocke prior domus siue prioratus sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum de Monte acuto in Comitatu Somersett ordinis clunasensis et eiusdem loci conuentus Salutem in Domino sempeternam. Noueritis nos prefatos priorem et conuentum unanimi assensu et consensu nostris animis deliberatis certa scientia et mero motu nostris ex quibusdam causis iustis et racionabilibus nos animas et conscientias nostras specialiter mouentibus ultro et sponte dedisse concessisse ac per presentes damus concedimus reddimus et confirmamus Illustrissimo principi et domino nostro Henrico octauo Dei gratia Anglie et Francie Regi fidei defensori domino Hibernie et in terra Supremo capiti Anglicane ecclesie Totum dictam domum siue prioratum nostrum de Montague predictam Necnon omnia et singula maneria domania mesuagia Gardina Curtilagia tofta terras et tenementa prata pascua pasturas boscos subboscos redditus Reuerciones seruicia molendina passagia feoda militaria wardia maritagia natiuos villanos cum eorum sequelis Comunias libertates Franchesias Jurisdictiones officia curias letas Hundreda visus Fraunci plegii feria mercata parcos warrennas viuaria aquas piscarias vias Chiminia vacuos fundos advocaciones nominaciones presentaciones et donaciones ecclesiarum vicariarum Cantariarum Hospitalium et aliorum ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum quorumcumque Rectorias vicarias Cantarias penciones porciones annuitates decimas oblaciones ac omnia et singula emolumenta perficua possessiones hereditamenta et Jura nostra quecumque tam infra Comitatum Somersett quam infra Comitatum Wiltonis Dorsettis Devonie et alibi infra Regnum Anglie Wallie et Marchias eorumdem eidem domui siue

prioratui de Monte acuto predicto quoquomodo pertinentia spectantia appendentia siue incumbentia Ac omnimodas Chartas Evidencia scripta munimenta nostra quecumque eidem domui siue prioratui Maneriis terris tenimentibus ac ceteris premissis cum pertinentibus siue alicui inde parcellae quoquomodo spectantia siue concernentia. Habendum tenendum et gaudendum dictam domum siue prioratum scitum fundum circuitum et precinctum de Monte acuto predicta Necnon omnia et singula Maneria domania Mesuagia terras tenementa Rectorias vicarias pensiones porciones ac cetera premissa cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinentibus prefato Invictissimo principi et domino nostro Regi heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum Cui in hac parte ad omnem Juris effectum qui exinde sequi poterit aut potest Nos et dictam domum siue prioratum de Montague predicta ac omnia Jura nobis qualiscumque (ut decet) subiicimus et submittimus facultatem authoritatem et potestatem nos et dictam domum siue prioratum de Montague predictam unacum omnibus et singulis Maneriis terris et tenementis Redditis reuersionibus seruiciis et singulis premissis cum iuribus et pertinentibus uniuersis disponendis et pro suo libero Regie voluntatis libito ad quoscumque usus maiestati suc placenti alienandi donandi conuertendi et transferendi hujusmodi disposiciones alienaciones donationes conuersiones et Translaciones per dictam maiestatem suum quoquomodo fiendum extunc ratificantur Ratasque et gratas ac pro perpetuo firmas nos habituros promittimus per presentes. Et ut premissa omnia et singula suum debitum sortiri valeant effectum Ellecionibus insuper nobis et successoribus nostris necnon omnibus querelis provocacionibus appellacionibus actionibus litibus et instanciis aliisque nostris remediis et beneficiis nobis forsan et successoribus nostris in ea parte pretextu disposicionis alienacionis translacionis et conuersionis predictorum et ceterorum premissorum quali-

tircu*mque* competentum et competitur*is* omnib*us*-*que* error*ib*us metus ignorancie vel alterius materie siue disposicionibus exceptionibus obiectionibus et allegac*ion*i*bus* prorsus semotis et depositis palam pu^ce^ et expresse ex certa no*st*ra scientia animis*que* spontaneis Renu*n*ciauimus et cessimus p*r*out p*er* p*rese*ntes Renu*n*ciamus et cedimus et ab eisdem recedimus in hiis scriptis. Et Nos prefati prior et conuentus ac successores no*st*ri dict*am* domu*m* siue prioratu*m* precinct*um* scit*um* mansion*em* et eccle*s*iam de Mo*n*tague predict*am* ac o*mn*ia et singula maneria do*m*ania Mesuagia Gardina Curt*ilagia* toft*a* prat*a* pascu*a* pastur*as* bosc*os* subbosc*os* terr*as* tene*men*ta ac o*mn*ia et singula cetera premissa cu*m* suis p*er*tinen*tibus* uniu*er*sis prefato do*m*ino no*st*ro Regi heredib*us* et assignatis suis con*t*ra omnes gentes warantizabimus imp*er*petuu*m* p*er* p*rese*ntes.

In Cuius Rei testimoniu*m* Nos prefat*i* prior et conuent*us* Sigillu*m* no*st*ru*m* co*m*mune p*rese*ntibus apponi fecimus.

Dat*um* in domo no*st*ra Capitulari de Mo*n*tague predict*a* xx^o^ die mensis M*a*rcii anno Regni regis Henrici supradicti xxx^o^

Capt*um* et recognit*um* coram Magistro Guillielmo Petre uno clericoru*m* Cancellarie do*m*ini Regis die et anno supascript*is*[1].

Surrender of a Franciscan Friary.

M*emorandum* we the Wardeyn & co*n*uent of y^e^ graye fryer*es* of brygewat*er* w^t^ one assent & co*n*sent w^t^owt any man*er* of coaccyon or co*un*sell do gyue ow^r^ howse In to y^e^ handd*es* of y^e^ lorde vysytor to y^e^ kyng*es* vse desyerynge hys grace to be goode and

[1] Augmentation Office, Surrenders of Monasteries, etc., 20 March, 30 Henry VIII., No. 158.

gracyous to vs. In wyttenes we subscrybe ow^{r} namys w^{t} ow^{r} *pro*per handd*es* the xiij day of September In y^{e} xxx yere of kynge henry the viijth

per J me Joh*ann*es Herys gardi^{m}
per me J Thome*m* Howett
per me Johon wake
per me Richardu*m* Harris Sac*er*dotem
per me gerardu*m* morley bacha^{m}
per me Joh*ann*em Cog*y*n
\+ *per* me andream gocyt
per me robertum olyuer.[1]

[1] R. O. Chap. Ho. Bks. B $\frac{2}{19}$ p. 149. Cp. App. II. to the Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, pp. 4, 5, R.

CHAPTER II.

The Somerset Monks and Nuns.

One, surely, of the most noteworthy effects of the Suppression was the remingling with the world of all the religious. This must be dealt with before we proceed to questions of property and remoter results of the Dissolution.

At the outset we must guard against misconception. English monks did not lead a life of seclusion[1]. At the present day, when the few communities which do exist are regarded much in the light of foreigners, it is very difficult to realize this. Difficult to realize the monk as a traveller; still more, as a jovial, good-hearted companion[2]. But that it was so seems quite certain. Misericord or stated indulgence, allowing a mitigation of the

[1] Nor did nuns. See generally Fosbrooke, *Som. Arch. Soc.'s Procs.* vol. xii. p. 92, and Hugo, *Med. Nunneries of Somerset.* It is odd to find an Augustine Canon employed in a neighbouring parish to mend vestments, but it was probably work requiring a good deal of skill. For the instance see *Churchwardens' Accounts*, ed. Hobhouse (*Som. Rec. Soc.* vol. 4), p. 135. The village in point was Yatton, and the Canon probably came from Worspring.

[2] Thor. Rogers says that the monks were unpopular, but this cannot be true of the lower classes.

severities of the rule, was extended so as to allow a great deal of visiting and wandering about; Wolsey found it necessary to restrain the Augustine Canons in this respect. Most houses had cells attached to them, often at a considerable distance, serving to form an excuse for a pleasant holiday. Thus we read that three of the monks of Bath were away at Dunster when a visitation was made; and a letter of Layton's talks of an Irish cell of the same house which would require visiting. It were idle to multiply instances shewing that English monks did not lead a secluded life but mingled with the people around them, often joining in their sports, and not unfrequently having quite a reputation as athletes or sometimes it is to be feared as topers[1].

Probably these qualities of good fellowship endeared them to their poorer neighbours, and the slightness of the ripple which their disappearance caused may have been due to their being such good friends with the mammon of unrighteousness around them.

The Dissolution again did not come altogether as a bolt from the blue. Five years even in slow-moving times allows of a good deal of preparation. Foreign houses would be communicated with, friends written to, probably families would offer positions as

[1] For a picturesque description of all this see Jessopp, *Daily Life in a Mediæval Monastery* (*Nineteenth Century*, vol. xv. p. 100), and his introduction to the *Visitation of the Diocese of Norwich* (Camd. Soc.); further Fosbrooke, *British Monachism*. It seems clear from their names that the brethren of the houses were most largely drawn from the poorer classes. In the Middle Ages of course the Church was the great engine of social advance, in fact the only one.

private chaplains to such as were in orders. Finally, the Universities would be sounded by such as were learned whether there was any opening for new professors or tutors. Those, however, who would be able to do most in the way of anticipation were it is to be feared those who needed it least. This brings us a stage further.

It is a common error to suppose that all the ejected monks were pensioned, an error which Father Gasquet[1] has dispelled. The real state of the case seems to have been something like this. The heads, as a rule, of the smaller houses had pensions, their brethren having a choice of two courses: "to have their capacities[2] to live honestly and virtuously abroad and some convenient charity disposed to them toward their living;" or else "to be committed to such honorable great monasteries of this realm wherein good religion is observed, as shall be limited by his highness there to live religiously during their lives[3]." In Somerset the whole convent of Bridgewater, which had an income of only £120. 19*s.* 1*d.*, had annuities allotted to them, but their case seems exceptional.

We ought to say something of the way in which the pensions were granted. The Commissioners when on their rounds had, or thought they had, power to settle the amounts of what was to be given.

[1] G. II. 449 et seq.

[2] i.e. power to serve as priests, G. II. 274. The question of the number of monks who were in orders is not one that can be attacked in an attempt of this kind. Most were it is probable in some orders although the number of priests might be small.

[3] G. quoting R. O. ch. H. bks. $\frac{2}{7^{9}}$, p. 96.

There seems no doubt that they used this power unworthily, as the large grants to the heads would seem to shew, indeed as their own letters also clearly imply. This settlement of the pensions, proportioned it may be imagined to the stubbornness of the house, was duly sent up to the Augmentation Office; occasionally Rich the Chancellor made a copy, and on this report the patents were made out. The letters from the Commissioners relating to Somerset Houses which could be found among the miscellaneous books of the Augmentation Office have been placed at the end of this chapter. The patents then, the title-deeds of the monks, were drawn up on a uniform plan, only differing in wording as was necessary; the only change in fact made being such as the sex of the recipient or some special circumstance of the case required.

Father Gasquet states that the Glastonbury monks had no annuity, but the letter printed later seems to imply the contrary. But it must be admitted that none of their patents can be found[1]. Probably it was not found advisable to absolutely trust Layton and his fellow-workers.

The uniformity of the brethren's pensions is striking, and the slight variations which do occur seem, if looked at impartially, very judiciously managed. An impotent man and one that was old received more than his fellows; a Bachelor of Divinity

[1] An index to the pensions will be found in the App. to Report XLIX. of the Dep. Keeper of the Public Records. It is there stated that the average pension to a monk was about £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*, which seems rather too high. See pp. 210, 211 et sq.

more than a Literate. Those who did get pensions on the whole had no great reason to be dissatisfied with their amounts[1].

It is not so easy to speak favourably of the treatment of the heads of the houses. We find indeed very large sums given, far too large, gratuities as well as pensions. The Prior of Montacute, for instance, received in all, capitalizing his pension, about £20,000 in our value. There is a most unpleasant suspicion that the head was won over, if he could not be bullied into submission, by the promise of a bribe in order that he might in turn influence the members of his house. This opinion has been formed from reading letters such as appear in the first chapter, and from considering the cases of Bruton, Witham, Montacute and Bath. Witham and Bruton were of about the same yearly value, why the disparity between the annuities? Again, if Bath were worthy of dissolution on the grounds that Layton urged, the head was at least guilty of negligence. His case makes one inclined to agree with Fish's casual judgment, which is found in the "Supplycacion to our moste soueraigne Lorde kinge Henry the Eight" and may be taken for what it is worth. It runs:—

"And yet, notwithstandinge this wante and lack of knowleage in Godes Worde and the euyll which commethe manyfestly therof, (the more it is to be lamented) there be many popishe monckes, which

[1] Gratuities were given occasionally to the monks as well as to the heads. At Henton they had £29. 16*s*. 8*d*. shared among them. Hearne, pref. to Walter of Hemingburgh.

late were abbottes, (to whom not onely vnworthely, but also vniustely, were geven greate pensyons) and many of their covent monckes, hauinge nother lernynge nor other godly qualytyes, (apte, meate, or convenyent to be in spirituall pastours) be nowe admytted to haue cure of soules[1]."

As the gratuities to the heads do not appear in the lists added to this chapter it may be well to give a few examples. The Abbot of Athelney had the prebend of Long Sutton. The Master of the hospital at Bridgewater £16. 13*s.* 4*d.* The Prior of Bruton £20 0*s.* 0*d.* The Prior of Henton £11[2].

Nuns had usually about £3 a year given them (taking the whole of England); not a large amount, but sufficient in those days to support a single woman comfortably enough. The nuns were as a rule of good social position, so that they wanted help less than the monks. It is the more surprising, if we remember that the heads and members must have been of an equally respectable position, to note the same disparity in the amounts of the respective pensions. Catherine Bowser had fifty pounds a year[3], her sisters but four, at Buckland. At Cannington Cecilia Verney had ten marcs[4], her sisters nothing. Katerine Bulle got £5, but we find no mention of the rest of the convent, even in Pole's list[5].

[1] A.D. 1544, p. 27 (E. Eng. Text Soc. Ed.).

[2] Taken from Hearne's Walterus de Hemingburg (really Archer's account).

[3] Besides a gratuity of £25 (see Hugo, *Med. Nuns*, Buckland, 126).

[4] She probably never, according to Hugo (*Med. Nuns*, Canyngton, 78), had them paid to her.

[5] Hugo, *Med. Nuns*, Mynchin Barrow Priory, 52.

As there were but just over thirty professed nuns in Somerset it can readily be understood how soon and how easily they passed out of public notice.

The number of religious ejected in the county, most of whom received pensions, is very difficult to decide. Those who were living at the beginning of queen Mary's reign, when the enquiry was held which resulted in the work known as Cardinal Pole's Pension Book, will be found at the end of this chapter. But many who never received or bartered away the pensions it would be difficult to trace.

It may be assumed that Dr Gasquet is correct in saying that friars had no pension but were turned out with a few shillings. There were, however, few friars in Somerset. The Secular Priests at Bridgewater had pensions assigned to them in the ordinary way[1].

The Chantry priests may be mentioned here, although their turn did not come till the reign of Edward the Sixth. When they were cast into the world they had very fair treatment. In Somerset all had a pension, the average being £4. 5*s*. 10*d*.[2] a year, which, although below the average of what

[1] R. O. Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. vol. 233, fos. 279 et seq. Of course it is obvious that the after-history of the monks depended to a large extent on the order to which they belonged. The Colleges of secular priests were in a very different position, for instance, to that in which the convents of Franciscans found themselves. Different orders had different objects and modes of life, and probably were to some extent drawn from different classes. The difficulty of saying anything about monks in general is one which it is necessary to bear in mind. [Cf. Leach, *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell* (Camden Soc.), Introd. xi. xii.]

[2] Calculated from Green, Introd. to *Somerset Chantries* (*Som. Rec. Soc.*), p. xix et seq.

they received as priests, was a decent allowance; and as their continuance, after the fall of the religious houses, was decided to be unprofitable, there is little fault to be found with the Commissioners who adjusted their incomes. In number perhaps there were a hundred at the suppression time, 78 of whom appear in the Pension Book a few years later. A glance at the 'Survey' of the chantries edited by Mr Green will shew how intricate the chantry system was, and how vast the every-day consequences of its abolition must have been[1]. The

[1] Cp. here Fish, writing between the suppression of the Houses and that of the Chantries. 'A supplycacion to our moste soueraigne Lorde kinge Henry the Eight,' 1544, p. 42 (E. Eng. Text Soc.). He says:—'What good cyuyle harte wolde not, I saye, lament and bewayle the greate burden wherwith this your realme (gracyouse Lorde) is ouercharged through the greate multytude of chauntery prestes, soule prestes, chanons, resydensaryes in cathedrall churches, prebendaryes, muncke pencyons, morowe mas prestes, vnlerned curattes, prestes of gyldes and of fraternytees, or brotherhedes, rydinge chaplaynes and suche other ydle parsons; whyche yf they be well noted, and also what frute spryngethe of them, indyfferently valewed, consydered, and pondered, it will appere manyfestly to all reasonable and godly wyttes, that they do brynge noo maner commodyte profett, or vtylyte, other spyrituall or temporall, to this your publycke wealthe.' But all this extract is the mere ignorance of one who was writing to please the multitude. If the introduction to the Series of *Churchwardens' Accounts* edited by Bp Hobhouse for the Somerset Record Society be consulted and the items in the accounts noted, it will be clearly seen that the parochial system was far stronger at the Dissolution than the monastic. Rich the monasteries were and their members fairly popular with the poor, but it seems that their connection with social organization has been in many ways exaggerated. The Chantry priests belong to the parochial, and not to the monastic system, and merely are noticed here (in an utterly insufficient way) because the time of their expulsion so nearly coincided with that of the dissolution of the monasteries.

chantry priests then quietly joined their fellow-sufferers with, as was noticed in the first chapter, an excellent character given them by their neighbours. In this way, adding the fact that a few years had slipped away, we may explain if we will the decent maintenance that was allowed them.

The pensions in some cases were paid to the monks and nuns directly by the Augmentation officers in London, but more usually by the Royal receivers down in Somerset. Examples from the miscellaneous books of the Augmentation Office and from the ministers' accounts have been added to illustrate both methods.

What became of the ejected pensioners? How did they live? In what connections do their names subsequently recur? A more important question: Were their pensions regularly paid? Such questions have been often asked but to them no satisfactory answer has been returned, nor perhaps ever will be. The investigation has been pronounced difficult by authorities like Father Gasquet, who have struggled through the various Rolls of the Courts and left no stone unturned in the hope of finding a trace of the after-life of the English religious.

In speculating on their fate we must not forget that, whatever may be said to the contrary by enthusiastic mediævalists, the monks were really in the time of Henry the Eighth bodies of country gentlemen; good-hearted country gentlemen to be sure, but in no way much different from the world around them. It was just this, to quote a remark of

Canon Creighton's[1], that made their ruin so easy. Henry turned on them suddenly and required them to prove that they were saints. The fact that they disappeared so quietly seems to shew that they were much as other men, and, again quoting Canon Creighton, is evidence, and strong evidence, that the Dissolution ought to be regarded as the result or one of the signs of the great social revolution of the sixteenth century rather than, as it has too often been viewed, its great antecedent cause. That the monks were good-hearted country gentlemen anyone who has not started with a theory to support may gather from their correspondence and their whole system of life[2]. Such letters as those respecting the rules of confinement imposed by the victors all have a temporal rather than a spiritual motive. What are all the charters of abbeys concerned with but the ordinary affairs of the life of a landowner? It will be answered that these are the points of contact with the outside world, and that hence they come specially before us, while the religious life of the cloister was continued in a steady routine of faithfulness. Admit it, and the criticism still remains that these temporal interests were too vast and their regulation by an easy-going corporation a serious cause of national loss. Times, again it may be, has been, urged, had altered since the days when poverty absolute or moderate

[1] To Canon Creighton I am under very great obligations for help in many points connected with this subject.

[2] Cf. especially Dr Jessopp's Introduction to *Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich* (Camden Society).

had been helpful or necessary. But he who urges such a plea is on very dangerous ground. To him it will be said that in modelling their life with a regard to the well-being of the country the religious houses accepted the position that when by general consent that system became burdensome it would be dispensed with or at all events altered. And no one who does not belong to the class of professed apologists will contend that a change so memorable, so vital, productive of so much temporary misery, and conducted with such heartless brutality could have been successfully carried out in this country if the great mass of middle class people had not been certain that a change was necessary. Spain, Italy, Germany, France, England, have all had their suppressions, and the very horror of it in the last two countries seems irresistibly to prove how necessary it was. In saying this, we are very far from saying that the agents concerned directly were national benefactors. They were in fact much as this country has always employed in similar crises, a set of time-serving hypocrites. The point is that they were necessary.

It was very difficult to travel in Henry the Eighth's reign, especially for poor men. One may know that from the grants for travelling expenses preserved in Mr Gairdner's "Letters and Papers." So that the monks could not go far in many instances. The independence of the English Church[1],

[1] The general independence is here referred to. That English benefices were constantly enjoyed by foreigners of rank does not prove any very free communication. The supremacy oaths must have emphasized the English insularity. Still Cleeve had been a

not less than the apathetic selfishness, to call it by a hard name, of foreign houses, must have prevented any very great migration abroad. It was a far cry from Somerset to Oxford[1], though there is a report based on Wood's account that a good many ejected monks went there. We have however a few definite records which may now be entered upon.

The first case we note is that of Thomas Dale, a monk of Taunton Priory, who as will be seen had the living of St James given to him with £8 for his yearly 'wages,' some two pounds ten shillings more than his brethren. In the same way John Wallis, prior of a cell of Montacute at Holme, had to remain there and serve the cure with a stipend a little larger than the pension, which was however to be reduced if he happened to be impotent or lame[2]. Again, in the patent granting a pension to John Fowler, a brother from Keynsham Abbey, we find the following:

"Prouiso semper quod si predictus Johannes ffowler missam singulis diebus dominicis et diebus festinalibus in ecclesia sancte margarete in charleton in dicto comitatu nostro somerset celebrare recusauit quod tunc et deinceps idem Johannes habebit gaudebit nisi quinque libras sex solidos et octo denarios annuatim de dicta pencione sex librarum tresdecim

cell of Bec: but that was a merely financial relation, latterly not even that, and Bruton and Coutances had some sort of connection; see *Som. Arch. Soc. Proc.* XIX. 95.

[1] It is interesting to read the account of a many days' journey into Bucks from Somerset to resettle paupers very long after Henry VIII.'s time.

[2] See the illustrations at the end of this chapter.

solido*rum* et quattuor denario*rum* aliquo in *pre*-sentib*us* in contr*ariu*m inde non obstatu[1]."

Thus far we are on firm ground; the following must not be accepted as more than mere possibilities. Where we find a monk of a certain name, and on searching discover that someone of the same name was instituted rector or vicar of some parish in the county a year or two later, the similarity is not a very strong argument in favour of identity.

Thomas Powell then was a monk of Bath, and a man of the same name was presented to the rectory of Tellisford in 1554[2]. It appears that one Richard Webb de Bekington was part-owner of the advowson, and the idea suggests itself that he may have been a connection of John Bekington, a brother monk of Powell's, and that hence would come the presentation. The identity is much surer in the case of William Clementt. He was also of Bath, and almost certainly the same as the William Clement who served St Mary's, Bath, from 1541[3], notwithstanding a slight difference in spelling, which no one will weigh too heavily who remembers that in the first chapter Hord, the prior of Hinton, spells his own name differently from his brother's. One would have expected that Robert Walshe, the prior of Bridgewater, would have been allowed to continue to hold the rectory of St Andrew's, Northover, which he had obtained as early as 1506[4], but it

[1] R. O. Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 233, fo. 120.

[2] Weaver (from Hugo's mss.), *Somerset Incumbents*, 197.

[3] Ib. 234.

[4] Ib. 151. He may have been too old; he must have been 60 at the Dissolution.

does not appear to have escaped the spoiler. Perhaps Robert Fysher, returned as deacon at Bridgewater, was the Robert Fisher who in 1554 was made rector of St Michael's, Puriton[1]. Four years later John Mors, who had been a novice at the same house as Fisher in the Supremacy times, was appointed to Compton Pauncefoot, which rectory he held till 1589[2]. Then again John Dunster, S. T. B. who was rector of All Saints, Kingsdon, in 1556[3], may have been fifteen years or more before that an inmate of Bruton, but the addition of the degree makes against his having been such. The precise spelling of names as before remarked is not of much account, a fact which may excuse the following suggestions; no one will consider them in any other light. We find from Hugo's list[4] that a certain Thomas Genyngs obtained the living of Norton Fitzwarren sometime after 1542, that he was deprived for reasons unknown, and again that he was restored after 1554. There is no impossibility in his being the same former Benedictine of Athelney who subscribed to the supremacy as Thomas Genynges. In the same way, only with less probability, the John Pauly of Glastonbury, as his name is written on the Supremacy acknowledgement, may be proved to have afterwards in 1558 appeared on the list of rectors of Hinton St George as Jo. Pawlet[5]; the two spellings are common enough at the time at all events. Keinton Mandeville had a rector John Crybbe[6], and Montacute had a

[1] Weaver (from Hugo's MSS.), *Somerset Incumbents*, 171.
[2] Ib. 72. [3] Ib. 118. [4] Ib. 409.
[5] Ib. 337. [6] Ib. 113.

Cluniac John Crybe. One is much more certain when we come to Wells, for it seems probable that the Ric. Clarkson who held the vicarage of St Cuthberts Wells from 1530[1] until his death was none other than the Clerkson who was master of the Hospital of St John Baptist there. The pensions are in some cases a guide; John Symmes, the Vicar of Ashcott from 1558 till 1586, must have died at a great age if he be the same as Symmys of Montacute, but the latter was not apparently an S. T. B., judging from his pension when he was discharged, which a vicar of Yeovil[2] of the same name in 1547 was; and hence the latter identity is less probable even than the former. The same may be said as to John Dove marked, when at Witham as in orders, who had not the degree to identify him with the rector of Farnborow in 1554[3]. We may reasonably decline to enter upon the question of the John Smiths[4]. It will be remembered perhaps that when the Commissioners for taking the surrenders arrived at Hinton, they were much concerned about one Nicholas Ballard, whose temerity in denying the king's supremacy could only be excused on the supposition of his insanity. He appears[5] to have been kept in confinement for a time by Sir W. Hungerford, but as he is found on the pension list his insanity must have gained the day. It is not a very common name, and no doubt he was the Nicholas Ballard who for a very short time after 1557[6] held the vicarage of Lockyng.

[1] Weaver (from Hugo's MSS.), *Incumbents*, 473.
[2] Ib. p. 228. [3] Ib. p. 266. [4] Ib. pp. 108, 206, 415.
[5] Gasq. II. note to p. 300. [6] Ib. p. 128.

Several monks became for a short time chantry priests. In two cases the fact of their having been members of a convent is expressly mentioned in the Survey, John Benet for example at Langport[1], and John Spicer at Wellington[2], the one from Glastonbury, the other from Bruton. From the same authorities we surmise that John Pytte serving a chantry in St James's, Taunton[3], may have been the former sub-prior of Bath. He is described as "clerke of the age of lxiiij yeres, a man of honest conversacion." Of the few absentee chantry priests, one, who ought to have been at South Petherton, is noted in the Survey[4] as William Dyer, Clerke. He may have come from Montacute. But there seems every reason against supposing that John Mychel, the large-incomed prior of Witham Charterhouse, needed the £4. 5*s.* 10*d.* which was paid at Crewkerne to a chantry priest of the same name[5]. The latter was in 1548 eighty years of age.

It is unfortunate that more cannot be known of the Assizes in Henry the Eighth's last years. If there were any records the names of some of the pensioners would be sure to appear. As it is the Rolls of the London Courts are all that can be relied on in a general way, and for this work they have not of course been attempted. It is understood however that such efforts as have been made in the hope of

[1] Green, *Somerset Chantries*, p. 115.

[2] Ib. p. 28. [3] Ib. p. 9. [4] Ib. p. 25.

[5] Ib. p. 6. Some certainty would be given to these speculations by comparing them with the registers of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, transcripts from which are preserved in the British Museum.

tracing the religious have not met with success proportioned to the trouble involved, not such at all events as to encourage anyone who is writing a mere sketch to attempt anything of the kind. Incidentally a few more particulars may be noted. The monk at Bruton was examined at London, as we have seen, and if Fish has the slightest foundation for his assertion a number of those in orders no doubt felt the weight of Henry's arm. The passage referred to runs thus:

'The remenaunt of the sturdy beggers (not yet weaded out) do daylye in theyr writynges, counsels and preachynges stere us thereunto[1]. For what meane they in their sermons when they lament the great discord and miserable estate of this our tyme, wishinge that all thynge were nowe as it was xx yeares since: but that they woulde have a Pope pardons, lightyng of candels to Images, knockyng and knelyng to them with running hither and thither on pilgrimage[2]."

At Mary's accession a few Somerset Carthusians from Witham and Hinton reassembled at Sheen under Chauncey, four Benedictines from Glastonbury gathered round Feckenham at Westminster[3]. Perhaps a few became schoolmasters, though they had fewer opportunities of following that profession than might

[1] That is, "to rebel agaynst your highnesse our most natural souerayne and leage lorde."

[2] *Supplication*, p. 270, B. M. copy.

[3] Gasq. II. p. 486. Cf. Petre, *English Colleges and Convents on the Continent* (ed. Husenbeth) p. 36. John Mitchel the former prior of Witham, who had been one of the assistant visitors, returned to Sheen. Cf. Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 282.

have been supposed, for the best of reasons, namely, that there were very few schools. Some were of good family, and therefore were preserved from want. The chantry priests were well off in the amount of their pensions[1]; judging from their names too they would occasionally find influential friends; the report of their characters is so good that they can have made but few enemies. This destruction of the chantries must have, taken with the disappearance of the monasteries, accentuated the difficulty of dealing with younger sons, a difficulty which would press very heavily now that the practice of farming an estate by a landlord and his family had died out[2].

From the ministers' accounts and the Augmentation Office Books[3], it can be gathered that the pensioners very soon decreased in number. A great many died shortly after the pensions were granted, some could not get to the Receiver owing to age or distance; many, immediate and pressing want compelled to sell their patents for ready money, generally small in amount. The abuses in the payment were such that the Act 2 and 3 Edw. VI. was found to be necessary and a commission was appointed[4]. Finally, we have Cardinal Pole's celebrated list which was made in 1553.

[1] Green, Introd. to *Som. Chantries*.

[2] Th. Rogers, *Econ. Interp. of History*, III. 264.

[3] A careful account of this subject will be found in Gasquet, II. 463 et seq.

[4] Gasq. II. 463 et seq.

Attempt has been made to illustrate this chapter in the transcripts which follow:

Pollard Moyle and Layton to Cromwell.

Pleasithe hitt yo^{r} lordeshippe to be aduertised That sithens o^{r} Lres Last dyrectide vnto you from Glaston we have dayly fownde and tryede oute bothe money and plate hyde and muryde vp in wallis vauttis and other secrett placis aswell by thabbott as other of the conventt And also convaide to diu*er*se placis in the countrye. And in case we shoulde here tarry this fortnigthe wee doo suppose daily to increase in plate and other goodis by false knaves convayde. And emonge other petty bryberies we have fownde the twoo threserors of the churche monkis w^{t} the ij clarkis of the vestry temporall men in so arraunte and manifeste robery, that we have commyttide the same to the Jayle. At o^{r} first entree into the threser house and vestre also we nether fownde Jewellis plate nor ornamenttis sufficientt to serve a poure p*ar*ishe churche wherof we colde not a littell marvill. And therupon ymmediately made so diligentt enquirye and serche that w^{t} vigilante labo^{r} we muche Jmprovide the same. And have recoveride agayne into o^{r} hand*es* bothe money plate and adornamenttis of the churche, how muche plate we knowe not, for we hade no

leysu^{r} yet to wey the same, but we thinke hit of a grete valewe and we increase itt more eu*ery* day and shall doo as we suppos for o^{r} tyme here beinge, we assure yo^{r} Lordeshippe that thabbot and the monkis forsaide have ymbecclyde and stollyne as muche plate and adornamen*tes* as wolde have sufficede to have begone a new abbay. What they mentte therby we leve itt to yo^{r} iudgmentt. wether the kyngis pleasu^{r} shalbe to execute his Lawis vpon the saide iiij^{or} *per*sones and to mynister them iustice accordinge to their deserte*s* or to extende his m*er*cy towarde*s* them, And what his maiesties pleasu^{r} is hitt may please yo^{r} Lordeshipp to aduertese vs therof. The house is greate goodly and so pryncely as we haue not sene the lyke w^{t} iiij park*es* adioynynge, the furthermoste of them but iiij^{or} myles distaunte from the house, A grete mere whiche ys v miles cu*m*pas beinge a myle and a halfe distante from the house well replenishied w^{t} greate pykis, bremes, perche, and roche, iiij faire mano^{r} placis belonginge to the late abbott the furthermost but iij myles distante beynge goodly mansions. And also one in Dorsettshire xx myles distante from the late monaste*ry*. We have dispachyde the se*r*unttis w^{t} their halfe yeres wagies gevinge humble thankis to the kingis maiestie for the same. The monke*s* also withe the kingis benevolence and rewarde And have assigned them pentyons. We finde them very glade to dep*ar*te moste humbly thankinge the kingis maiestie of his grete goodnes moste graciously showyde vnto them at this tyme as well for his gracis rewarde as also for their pentyons. Cattell we intende to sell for redy monney and to letowte the pastures and demeynes now from mighelmas forthe quarterly vntill the kingis pleasure therin befurther knowyne to thentente his grace shall lease no rente for thabbott hade muche pasture grounde in his hande, Other newys we knowe none but that

almighty god have you in his tuiytion ffrom Glaston this xxviij day of September.

Yo^rs to comaund

RYCHARD POLLARD
THOMAS MOYLE
RIC. LAYTON[1].

[Endorsed]

The comissyoners for the suppressing of Glaston Abbay certefyinge the imbecelinge of plate ther &c. The comendacon of the Buildinges Manor howses Parkes Meares &c.

[Addressed]

To the ryghte honorable and our singuler good Lorde my Lorde prevy seale

RYCHARD POLLARD TO (CROMWELL).

Pleasyth it youre lordshyp to be Aduertysed, that syns my laste letter sent vnto youre lordshyp bearyng date the xv daye of nouembre, thesame xv daye the late Abbott of Glastonberye went frome Wellys to Glastonberye & there was drawyn thorowe

[1] Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII. Box 1 for 1539, no. 109.

the towne apon A hurdyll to the hyll callyd the Torre wheare he was putto execucon Att wych tyme he askyd god mercye & the kyng for hys great offensys towardes hys hyghenes, And Also desyred my seruntes then beyng there present to se the execucon done that they wold be meane to my lord presydent & to me thatt we shold desyre the kynges hyghenes of hys mercyfull goodnes & in the waye of charytye to forgyve hym hys great offensys by hym commytted & done Ageynste hys grace And thereapon toke hys deathe very pacyently, & hys hede & body bestowyd in lyke maner As I certyfyed youre lordshyp in my last letter, And lykewyse the other ij monkys desyred lyke forgyvenes & toke there deathe verye pacyently, whose Sowllys god pardon, And where As I att my last beyng Wyth youre lordshyp Att london movyd youre lordshyp for my Brother paulett desyryng youre lordshyp to be A meane that he myght haue the surveorshyp of Glastonbery wych J dowt nott but he wyll vse & excercyse thesayd Offyce to the kynges moyste profytt & Aduntage & youre lordshyppes goodnes herein to hym to be showyd he shall recompense to hys lytle powere. I Assure youre lordshyp he hathe byn very dylygent And dyuers other by hys meanys to serve the kyng Att thys tyme Accordyng to hys dewtye & ryght so was Nycholas fytzJames John Sydnam & Thomas hornar youre seruntes, Also thys ys to aduertyse youre lordshyp that the late abbott of Glastonberye Afore hys execucon was examyned Apon dyuers artycles & Jnterrogatoryes to hym mynystered by me but he cowld Accuse no man but hym selfe of Any offense Ageynst the kynges hyghnes nor he wold confesse no more goold nor syluer nor Any other thyng more then he dyd Afore youre lordshyp in the Tower. my lord Russell takythe hys Jorney this present daye frome Wellys towardes london, I suppose hytt wylbe nere Crystmas before I

shall haue surveyd the lande*s* Att Glastonberye & takyne the Audyte there other newes I knowe none As knowythe god who eue*r* pre*serv*e youre lordshyp frome Wellys the xvj daye of Nouembre

Yo^{r} assuryd to com*m*and

Rychard Pollard[1].

Russell to Cromwell.

Right honourable and my verey good lorde. pleaseth youre lordeshipp to be aduertysed that I haue receyued youre lettres dated the xijth daye of this preasent. And vnderstond by the same youre lordeshipps greate goodnes towardes my friende the Abbott off Peterborough for whome J haue ben ofte bold to wryte vnto youre good lordeshipp. moste hartely thankynge yo^{r} lordeshipp for that and all other youre goodnes . that I haue founde at youre good lordeshipps handes . euenso desiering you my lorde longe to contynew in the same. My lorde thies shalbe to asserteyne that on thursdaye the xiiijth daye of this p*re*sent moneth, the Abbott of Glastonburye was arrayned, and the next daye putt to executyon, wyth ij other of his monkes, for the robbyng of Glastonburye churche, on the torre hyll next vnto the towne of Glaston, the seyde Abbotte*s* body beyng deuyded in fower parte*s*, and heed stryken off . Whereof oone quarter stondythe at Welles, a nother at bathe, and at ylchester and brigewater the rest. And his hedd vppon the Abbey gate at Glaston ; And as concernyng the rape and burglary comytted, those parties are all condempned; and fower of theym putt to execucyon at the place of the act don . whiche is called the Were, and

[1] MSS. Cotton. Cleop. E. IV.

there adiudged to hange styll in chaynes to th-ensample of others, as for Capon oone of the seyde offenders condempned: I haue repried according to yo^{r} lordeshipps letters . of whom I shall further shew vnto you, at my next repayre vnto the courte. And here I do sende yo^{r} lordeshipp enclosed the names of thenquest that passed on Whytyng, the seid abbott: whiche I ensure you my lorde is as worsshipfull a iurye as was charged here thies many yeres. And there was never seene in thies part*es* so greate apparaunce as were here at this p*re*sent tyme and never better wyllyng to s*er*ue the kyng. My lorde I ensure you there were many bylles put vpp ageynst the abbott by hys tenaunt*es* and others, for wronges and iniuryes that he hadd dune theym: And I com*m*ytt yo^{r} good lordeshipp to the keapyng of the blessed trynyte, from welles the xvj daye of Nouembre

Your owen to com*m*ande

J. Russell[1].

Bruton.

The names of thabbott of brueton and his brether wth there offices and pensions by thassignement of my lord p*re*vey seale

John Elye Abbott ..... ^{xx}iiij^{li}
Rich. bogye p*rio*^{r} ..... vij^{li}
Rich. bushop supp*rio*r ..... vj^{li}
Rich. herte chamberer batcheler of diuinitie ..... vj^{li}
John gyle fermerer ..... v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

[1] MSS. Cotton. Cleop. E. IV. These three letters it has been thought best to print, though they more properly belong to the first chapter.

Thomas Eton Cellero^{r} ..... v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
John Dunster Chaunter batcheler of diunte ..... vj^{li}
Robert Welles stuerd ..... v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
William burges fraterer ..... v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
William wylton Chaplen batcheler of Lawe .... vj^{li}
Rich. Stacye ..... v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
John Harrold ..... v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
Hewe backwell scolers in oxon ..... vj^{li}
John Spicer ..... v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
John Castelyne ..... v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
Rich. alvorde ..... v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

THOMAS CRUMWELL[1].

THE LATE MONASTERY OF MOUNTACUTE IN THE COUNTIE OF SOMERST

Hereafter ensueth the pencons Appoynted & assigned to the late prio^{r} & covente of mountacute aforsayd by John Tregonwell W^{m} Peto^{r} & John Smyth the kynges graces commissioners ther that they & euery of theyme to haue one quarter of a yeres pencon at the ffeaste of thannuncyacon of o^{r} lady nexte comynge And at the ffeast of Saynte michell tharchaungell then nexte followinge halffe a yeres pencon & so to be payd from halffe yere to halffe yere duringe there lives

that is to saye

ffurst to Robte Whitloke at Gibbes prio^{r}...$\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}^{li}$ & he to haue for his dwellinge house for terme of Liffe a mancon place w^{t} the garden adioyninge sett & beinge in este chinake whiche house the sayd late prio^{r} of late buylded.

[1] R. O. Aug. Off. misc. bks. vol. 245, p. 33. Another list of the Bruton Monks and their pensions may be found on p. 220 of the same volume signed by Richard Ryche.

Itm to Robte warrener subprior^r ..... xij^li
Itm to John Cogen ..... viij^li
Itm to Thomas Tawnton al chiswaye ..... vij^li
Itm to Thoms hurme ..... vij^li
Itm to William Dyer ..... vj^li xiij^s iiij^d
Itm to John Crybbe ..... vj^li xiij^s iiij^d
Itm to John Webbe ..... vj^li xiij^s iiij^d
Itm to John Clerke prior^r of malpace ..... vj^li xiij^s iiij^d
Itm to Robte Briande ..... vj^li xiij^s iiij^d
Itm to Lawrens Herforde ..... vj^li xiij^s iiij^d
Itm John Walles prior^r of the cell of holme is appoynted to serue the cure of holme & he to haue yerly for his labo^r viij^li. And if he happon to be Impotente or lame then he to haue yerly for his pencon ..... } vj^li xiij^s iiij^d
Itm to William wynter ..... cvj^s viij^d
Itm to John palle ..... cvj^s viij^d
Itm to John Symes ..... cvj^s viij^d
Itm to William Crise ..... c^s
Itm to William Rogers ..... iiij^li xiij^s iiij^d

Thoms Crumwell

Somme of the yerly pencions aforsayd } ..^xx ciiijvj^li vj^s viij^d

Jo Tregonwell
William Petre J
John Smyth[1]

Pencions appoynted by the kinges highnes comyssioners to the late prior and coventt of the surrendryd howse of charterhowse wyttam in the countie of somersett the xv^th day of marche in the xxx^th yere of o^r soueraigne lorde king henry the viij^th and they and euery of them to haue

[1] R. O. Aug. Off. misc. bks. vol. 245, p. 72.

one quarter*s* pen*cion* att thanncac*ion* of o^{r} ladie next cu*m*yng and att the feast of saynt mychell tharch*a*ungell next after that one halfe yeres pencon, and soo from halfe yere to halfe yere duryng there lyves and the lyfe of eu*er*y of them

That is to say

ffurst to John mychell p*rior*	xxxiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
To John Wele	vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
To John Dove	vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
To John Smythe	vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
To Thoms Segeforde	vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
To John Clyffe	vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
To John Lawson	vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
To Nycolas lychefylde Impotent	viij^{li}
To John mychelston	vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
To Richard Woodnett	viij^{li}
To John Mylett	vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
To Alnett hales	vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
To Thrustone Hyckemans late proct*er*	viij^{li}
To hugh Bytt	xl^{s}
To John Swansto	xl^{s}
s*um* of the yerely pencons	cxxxi^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

THOMAS CRUMWELL
JO TREGONWELL
WILLIAM PETRE
JOHN SMYTH[1]

BATHE.

Here ffoloweth the yerely pencons or annuyties gra*u*nted by the king*es* highnes to the p*rior* and bretherne of the late surrendred howse of Bathe,

[1] R. O. Aug. Off. misc. bks. vol. 245, p. 91.

And they and eu*er*y of them to haue there halfe yeres pencon at tha*n*uncacon of o^{r} lady next cu*m*yng whiche shalbe in the yere of o^{r} lorde god a thowsand fyve hundreth xxxix^{ti} and soo from halfe yere to halfe yere during there lyves and the lyke of eu*er*y of them.

that is to say.

ffurst to Will*iam* holewey[a] p*rio*r for his yerely pencon in mone ..... } lxxx^{li}

more is appoynted to hym for his dwelling howse one tenement sett and lying in stall*es* strete w^{t}in the southgate of bathe wherin one Jeffrey Stayn*er* lately dwellyd being of the yerely rente of ..... } xx^{s}

To John pytt supp*rio*r .....ix^{li}

To Richarde Griffith p*rio*r of the Celle of Dunster...viij^{li}

To Thom*as* Bathe[b] impotent.....viij^{li}

To Nycholas Bathe[c] bacheler of devynite .....viij^{li}

To Alysaunder Boyston[d] .....vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

To Richarde lyncolne[e] .....vj^{li}

To John Bekenton[f] .....vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

To Thoms Powell .....v^{li}

To Richarde Gules[g] ....v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

To Thom*as* Worceter[h].....v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

To Willm Clement ....v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

To John Arleston[j] .....vj^{li}

To John Edger[k] .....v^{li} vj viij^{d}

To Edwarde Edwey[l] .....v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

To Patrycke Vertue[m] .....v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

To John humylyte[n] .....v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

To John Gabriell[o] .....v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

[a] *alias* Gybbs. [b] Copten. [c] Jobben. [d] Bull.
[e] Bygge als Lincombe. [f] Romeston. [g] Gybbs.
[h] Stylland. [j] Browne als Adelstan. [k] Godbury.
[l] Style. [m] Archer. [n] Colyn. [o] Style.

To Willi*a*m Bewachyn .....v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
To John Benet[p] .....v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
To John Pacyence[q] .....iiij^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Thoms Crumwell
Jo Tregonwell
William Petre[1]

Saynt Jones in Welles.

here ffoloweth the yerely penc*i*ons or Annuyties gr*a*unted by the king*es* highnes to the master and bretherne of the late surrenderyd howse of Saynte Jones in Well*es* And they and eu*er*y of them to haue one halfe yeres penc*i*on at thanu*n*cacon of o^{r} ladie next cu*m*yng wth shalbe in the yere of o^{r} lorde god a thowsande fyve hundreth xxxix^{ti} and soo from halfe yere to halfe yere duryng there lyves and the lyfe of eu*er*y of them

that is to say

ffyrst to Rychard Clerkeson m^{r} for his yerely pencon...xij^{li}
To Willi*a*m markes .....iiij^{li}
To John Dyte .....liij^{s} iiij^{d}
To John Carnycke .....iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

s*a*me xxij^{li}

Thoms Crumwell
Jo Tregonwell.
Wylliam Petre J[2]

[p] Parnell. [q] Long. These aliases are taken from another list, fo. 110, in the same volume, which was probably made for Rich.

[1] R. C. Aug. Off. misc. bks. vol. 245, fo. 109.

[2] R. O. Aug. Off. misc. bks. vol. 245, p. 111. Another list, probably Rich's, at fo. 213 of the same vol.

Bukelond.

here ffoloweth the yerely pencions or annuyties grauntyd by the kinges highnes to the late priores and Nunnes of the late surrendryd howse of Buckelond in the countie of Somersett. And they and euery of them to haue there halfe yeres pencion at thannucacion of o^r^ ladye next cumyng whiche shalbe in the yere of o^r^ lorde god a thowsande fyve hundreth xxxix^ti^, and soo from halfe yere to halfe yere during there lyves and the lyfe of euery of them

That is to say

ffurst to Katheryn Bowser prioresse for her yerely pencon	l^li^
To margaret Sydnam suppriores	iiij^li^ xiij^s^ iiij^d^
To Julyan Kendall	iiij^li^ vj^s^ viij^d^
To Jone hyll	iiij^li^
To Anne plummer	iiij^li^
To Thomysyn Huntyngton	iiij^li^
To Katheryn popham	iiij^li^
To Anne Mannsell	iiij^li^
To mary dodyngton	iiij^li^
To Ales Emerforde	iiij^li^
To Jane Babyngton	iiij^li^
To mary mathew	iiij^li^
To Agnes mathew	iiij^li^
To Isabell Evene	iiij^li^
To Sr William mawdesley confessor and professyd in there order	iiij^li^
sum of the yerely pensions	cvij^li^

Jo Tregonwell
William petre[1] J

[1] R. O. Aug. Off. misc. bks. vol. 245, fo. 128.

Tawneton.

Herafter ensuyth the namys of the late p*rio*r & covente of Tawneton in the countie of som*ers*t with the Annuall pen*cio*ns Assigned vnto them by vertue of the kyng*es* highnes comission the xij daye of ffebruary in the xxx^{ti} yere of the reigne of o^{r} sou*ere*igne lorde kynge henry the viijth the furst payment of the saide pen*cio*ns & e*uer*y of them to begynne at the ffeaste of thannu*n*ciacon of o^{r} blessid lady next comyng for one halfe yere & so to be paide from halfe yere to halfe yere duryng ther lyff*es*

that is to saye

Will*ia*m Will*ia*mis p*rio*r ..... lx^{li}
Will*ia*m Gregory ..... x^{li}
Will*ia*m Baylye ..... vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}
Nicholas Berame ..... vj^{li}
John heywarde ..... cvj^{s} viij^{d}
Thom*as* Dale ..... cvj^{s} viij^{d} And s*er*uinge the cure of Saynt Jamys in Tawneton to haue for his yerly wag*es* viij^{li} Accomptynge his pencon for p*ar*te of the same
Thom*as* mathewe ..... cvj^{s} viij^{d}
Will*ia*m p*ar*son ..... cvj^{s} viij^{d}
John Waren ..... cvj^{s} viij^{d}
Will*ia*m Bynnesmede ..... cvj^{s} viij^{d}
Will*ia*m Culronde ..... cvj^{s} viij^{d}
John Cockeram ..... cvj^{s} viij^{d}

Thomas Crumwell[1]
Jo Tregonwell
Wylliam Petre
John Smyth

[1] R. O. Aug. Off. misc. bks. vol. 245, fo. 144. There is another list made and signed by Rich on p. 215 of the same volume.

Pensions assygned to the late master and Brethern of the surrendryde house of Seynte Joones in Brydgewater. And they and euery of theym to haue their halff yeers pencion at Thanunciacon of oure Lady next comyng whiche shalbe in the yere of our Lorde godd A thousonde vc xxxix and so from halff yeer to halff yeer duryng the lyffe of euery of theym

ffirste to Robte Walshe master .....xxxiij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}
Itm to Thomas Coggyn .....iiij^{li}
Itm to Richarde Kymrydge .....iiij^{li}
Itm to John Colde .....iiij^{li}
Itm to John Wyll .....iiij^{li}
Itm to Roberte ffyssher .....iiij^{li}
Itm to John Woode .....xl^{s}
Itm to John Mors .....xl^{s}

sume lvij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

Rychard Ryche[1]

Grant of a Prebend to the late Abbot of Athelney.

Rex omnibus ad quos &c salutem. Cum nuper monasterium de Athelney in comitatu nostro Somerset iam dissoluatum vnde quidam Robertus hamlyn tempore dissolucionis illius & diu antea Abbas inde fuit. Nos volentes rationabilem Annualem pencionem siue promocionem condignam eidem Roberto ad victum exhibicionem & sustentacionem suam melius sustinendam prouideri Sciatis igitur quod nos in consideracione premissorum de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris per aduisa-

[1] R. O. Aug. Off. misc. bks. vol. 245, fo. 214. As to Rich created Baron Rich of Leeze in the County of Essex, cf. Pocock, *Troubles connected with the Prayer Book of* 1549 (Camd. Soc.), p. 36.

mentum & consensum cancellarii & consilii curiae Augmentacionum reuencionum corone nostre dedimus & concessimus ac per presentes damus & concedimus prefato Roberto prebendam de Sutton infra ecclesiam cathedralem Wellonensis in comitatu prefato Ac omnia mesuagia terras tenementa possessiones perficua commoditates & emolumenta quecumque eidem prebende quoquo modo spectantia siue pertinentia Damus eciam & pro consideratione predicta concedimus prefato Roberto quandam annuitatem siue anualem pencionem quinquaginta librarum sterlinorum habendam tenendam & gaudendam prebendam predictam cum pertinentiis prefato Roberto & assignatis suis a festo sancti michaelis Archangeli vltimo preterito ad terminum vite ipsius Roberti vel quousque idem Robertus ad vnum vel plura beneficia ecclesiastica siue aliam promocionem condignam clari annui valoris sexaginta librarum aut vltra per nos promotus fuerit absque compoto seu aliquo alio perinde nobis heredibus vel successoribus nostris redendum soluendum vel faciendum Ac habendam gaudendam & annuatim percipiendam dictam annuitatem quinquaginta librarum prefato Roberto ad terminum vite sue predicte vel quousque idem Robtus vt prefertur per nos promotus fuerit tam per manus Thesaurarii reuencionum Augmentacionum Corone nostre pro tempore existente de thesauro nostro in manibus suis de reuencionibus predictis remanere contingentibus quam per manus Receptorum exitiorum & revencionum dicti nuper monasterii pro tempore existentium de eisdem exitibus & reuencionibus ad festa Annunciacionis beatae marie virginis & dicti michaelis Archangeli per equales porciones annuatim soluendam Eo quod expressa mencio &c In cuius rei &c.

Teste Ricaro Riche milite apud Westmonasterium vicessimo quarto die ffebruarii Anno regni nostri tricessimo

per cancellarium & consilium predicta virtute warranti predicti[1]

Grant of a pension to a Canon of Keynsham.

Rex omnibus ad quos &c salutem Cum nuper monasterium de keynsham in comitatu nostro somerset iam dissoluatum vnde quidam Thomas Parker tempore dissolucionis inde & diu antea canonicus ibidem fuit nos volentes rationabilem annualem pencionem siue promocionem condignam eidem Thome ad victum exhibicionem & sustentacionem suam melius sustinendam prouideri Sciatis igit' quod nos in consideracione premissorum de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia & mero motu nostris per aduisamentum & consensum cancellarii & consilii curiae Augmentacionum reuencionum corone nostre dedimus & concessimus ac per presentes damus & concedimus eidem Thome quandam annuitatem siue annualem pencionem quinque librarum sex solidorum & octo denariorum sterlingorum habendam gaudendam & annuatim percipiendam easdem quinque libras sex solidos & octo denarios prefato Thome & assignatis suis a festo sancti michaelis Archangeli vltimo preterito ad terminum & pro termino vite ipsius Thome vel quousque idem Thomas ad vnum vel plura beneficia ecclesiastica siue aliam promocionem condignam clari annui valoris quinque librarum sex solidorum octo denariorum aut vltra per nos promotus fuerit tam per manus Thesauri reuencionum Augmentacionum corone nostre pro tempore existente de Thesauro nostro in manibus suis de reuencionibus predictis remanere contingentibus quam per manus Receptoris exituum & reuencionum dicti nuper monasterii pro tempore existentis de eisdem exitibus &

[1] R. O. Aug. Off. misc. bks. vol. 233, fol. 105.

reuenc*ioni*b*us* ad festa Annunciati*oni*s be*atae* marie virginis & d*ic*ti mich*ael*is Arch*angeli* p*er* equales porc*ione*s soluend*am* eo q*uo*d expressa mentio &c.

Teste Ric*ard*o Riche milite apud westm*onasterium* duodecimo die ffebruarii Anno regni n*ost*ri tricesimo[1]

p*er* canc*ellarium* & consilium p*re*dicta virtute Warranti p*re*dicti.

Notes on some of the Miscellaneous Books of the Augmentation Office.

Volume 232 of this series is composed of Patents granting pensions to the members of various dissolved Houses. It contains, however, only the following which are concerned with Somerset Religious: folio 29 one patent for Cleeve: fo. 35 one patent granting the prior of Worspring a pension of £12 a year: fo. 36 a similar grant of 20 marks to the prior of Barlinch: fo. 39 a similar patent giving 10 marks to the prioress of Cannington: fo. 48 another to the Prioress of Mynchinbarrow of 100/- yearly. The date of all these is 28 Henry VIII. The latter part of the volume, however, contains the patents of the year following.

Volume 233[2] is also composed of patents, but contains more of those granted to Somerset people than the former. They all, like the others in this volume, belong to the year 30—31 Hen. VIII., and

[1] R. O. Aug. Off. misc. bks. vol. 233, fol. 117.

[2] Cp. Gasq. II. 457.

may be catalogued thus. Folios 105, 106 Athelney 7 patents: fos. 115, 116, 117, 118 Keynsham 11 patents: fo. 120 Keynsham 1 patent: fos. 121, 122, 123, 124 Bath 21 patents: fos. 190, 197, 198, 199, Montacute 16 patents: fo. 207 Montacute 1 patent: fo. 221 Wells 4 patents: fos. 235, 236, 237, 238, 239 Bruton 16 patents: fos. 242, 243, 245, 246, 247 Hinton 23 patents: fos. 247, 248, 249, 250 Witham 15 patents: fos. 269 and 319 patents for Pulton, wrongly stated to be in Somerset: fos. 276, 277, 278, 279 Taunton 12 patents: fos. 279 and 280 Bridgewater 8 patents: fos. 284, 285, 286 Buckland 15 patents.

Volume 234 is mainly filled up with York and Lincoln patents, it has none concerning Somersetshire monks or nuns.

Volume 235 has no Somerset pensions.

Volume 236 the same.

Volume 237 relates to the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Volume 238 full of leases &c., but not relating to Somerset.

Volume 239. Pensions for those at Kingswood, Edington, Marlbrough and Beaulieu.

Volume 240. Nothing concerned with the county of Somerset; chiefly grants of annuities to those at Hide and Maidenbradley.

Volume 241. Fountains, Durham, Mollefont, Blancheland, Shapp and other northern pensions, but also Cokersand &c., in the south.

Volume 242. Flexley patents; some wardrobe accounts. Rumsey, Valle, Sarum, Twynham, St Swithin's Winchester, St Augustine's Bristol and

Bradenstoke patents. Grants to Seymour in Gloucester, Wilts and Hants.

Volume 243. Indentures of the time of James I., of all parts of England.

Volume 244. Patents for pensions of 28 Hen. VIII. Fo. 109, July 7, 20 marks to John Berwick at Barlynch. Fo. 110, Nov. 20, 10 marks to Cecilia Verney of Canyngton. Fo. 111, 2 July, 40 marks to Wm. Dovell of Cleeve. Fo. 112, 13 Feb., 100/- to Katherine Bulle of Mynchinbarrow. Fo. 113, 2 July, £12 to Roger Turmynton of Wurspryng.

Volume 245 contains lists of monks such as those which occur on pp. 121, &c. They are the memoranda from which the patents were made out. All relating to Somerset are included in the pages just referred to.

Volume 246. Pensions to the members of following houses: Hull, Wenlock, Chester, Shapp, Bolesston, Newcastle, Durham, Masham, Albalanda, Holystone, Alnwick, Mount Grace, Whitby, Watton, Menye, Selby, Nun-Appleton, York (St Mary), Fountains, Ardington, Kirkleigh, Pontefract, Kirkstall, St Oswalds, Hampall, Burton, Gisborne, Shrewsbury.

Volume 247. Patents for chantry priests.

The following accounts of Payments of Pensions at the Augmentation Office in London are all that concern Somerset which remain in Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books 248 and 249, at the Record Office.

Volume 248.

The late monastery of Mochelney.

John Manfelde ffyrste payde the xviijth daie of ffebruary A^{o} xxxiij^{cio} vnto John Manfelde clerke v^{li} whiche was due vnto the sayde John for his halff yeres anuyte ended at the natyvyte of oure lorde god last paste ..... v^{li}

Item payde the xxjth daye of novembr*e* Anno xxxiiij^{to} vnto the same John manfelde v^{li} for his halff yeres anuyte due vnto the said John at the feast of mydsomer last paste ..... v^{li}

Sum x^{li}

The monastery of Hynton.

Willm Horde Item payde the xxvijth daie of october Anno xxxiij^{cio} vnto Will*ia*m horde xxv^{s} viij^{d} for his halff yeres anuyte due at the ffeaste of thannun*cia*cion of o^{r} Lady laste paste ..... xxv^{s} viij^{d}

Item payde the xth daye of october Anno xxxiiij^{to} vnto the same will*ia*m xxv^{s} viij^{d} for his halff yeres anuyte due at the feaste of sayncte mychell tharchaungell last past ..... xxv^{s} viij^{d}

Will*ia*m Davys Item payde the ij^{de} daye of maye Anno xxxiiij^{to} vnto Will*ia*m Davys xiij^{s} iiij^{d} for his halff yeres anuyte due at thannun*cia*cion of o^{r} Lady last paste ..... xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Item payde the xvjth daye of novembr*e* Anno xxxiiij^{to} vnto the same Will*ia*m Davys xiij^{s} iiij^{d} for his halff yeres pen*cio*n due at the feaste of sayn̄te mychell the Archangell last paste ..... xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Sum iiij^{li}

The monastery of Keynsham.

Robert Smart ffyrst payd the xxixth Daye of marche Anno xxxiij^{cio} vnto Robarte Smarte iij^{li} for his haulf yeres anuyte due at thannunciacion of o^{r} Lady last paste ..... } iij^{li}

Item payde the xvth daye of novembre Anno xxxiiij^{to} vnto the same Robarte Smarte iij^{li} for his haulf yeres pencion due at the feaste of sayncte mychell tharchungell last paste ..... } iij^{li}

Sum vj^{li}

The monastery of Clyve.

Rauff Gybbes ffyrst payde the xiijth daie of Julye Anno xxxiiij^{to} to Rawff Gybbes xxx^{s} for his hauff yeres annuyte dewe at the natyvyte of Sayncte John Baptist last past ..... } xxx^{s}

Item payde the ixth Daie of ffebruary Anno xxxiiij^{to} to the same Rawff Gybbes xxx^{s} for his haulf yeres anuyte due at the feast of saynte mychell last paste ..... } xxx^{s}

Sum lx^{s}

The late monastery Clyve in the Countie of Somerset.

John Webbe Item paide the xvth daie of ffebruary Anno xxxiij^{tio} vnto John webbe somtyme Religeous there xl^{s} for his quarters pencon due at the natyvyte of oure Lord god laste paste ..... } xl^{s}

Paid the xviijth of Julie Anno xxxiiij^{to} vnto John webbe for his haulf yeres pencion due at midsomer Last paste..... } iiij^{li}

Pd the xxixth of novembre eodem anno for his quarters pencion Due at michelmas Last paste } xl^{s}

Sum viij^{li}

The Late charterhous of hynton.

John bagecrofte ffyrst payd the vth daie of maye Anno xxxiiij^{to} vnto John bachecrofte Late Religeous of hynton iiij^{li} for his haulf yeres pencion due at thannunciacion of o^{r} Lady laste paste ..... } iiij^{li}

Item payd the viijth daye of novembre Anno xxxiiij^{to} vnto the same John Bachecroft iiij^{li} for his haulf yeres pencion due at the feaste of sayncte michell tharchangell last paste ..... } iiij^{li}

Sum viij^{li}

The monasterye of Taunton.

John Tregonnyll[1] per manus Johannis howe Item paid the xviijth daie of Januarye Anno xxxiij^{cio} vnto John Tregonwell Docto^{r} in lawe xx^{s} for his haulf yeres anuyte due at the natyvyte of o^{r} Lord Laste..... } xx^{s}

Item payde the xxth daie of Julye Anno xxxiiij^{to} vnto John Tregonwell Docto^{r} in Lawe xx^{s} for his haulf yeres anuyte due at the feaste of saynte John Baptist Laste paste ..... } xx^{s}

William Glascok Itm payde the iiijth daie of Julye A° xxxiiij^{to} vnto William Glascok xx^{s} for his haulf yeres anuyte due at thanunciacion of o^{r} lady laste paste ..... } xx^{s}

[1] The visitor John Tregonwell.

Item payde the xxiiijth daye of October Anno xxxiiij^{to} vnto the same Will*iam* Glascok xx^{s} for his haulf yeres anuyte due at the feaste of saynte michell tharchaungell laste paste ..... } xx^{s}

Sum iiij^{li}

The monastery of mountacute.

Tho p*er*cey ffirste paide the xiiijth daie of Septembr*e* Anno xxxiij^{tio} to Thomas Percy gent. ix^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} for the arrerag*es* of one anuyte of liij^{s} iiij^{d} by yere due for iij yeres and a haulf ended at thannun*ci*acon of o^{r} Lady last paste ..... } ix^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}

It*em* paide the xxviijth Daie of novembre Anno xxxiiij^{to} to the same Thomas p*er*cy xxvj^{s} viij^{d} for his haulf yeres anu^{tie} due at the feaste of sayncte michell tharchaungell last paste ..... } xxvj^{s} viij^{d}

Sum x^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Vol. 249.

hynton late Charterhowse.

John Bagerosle by yere viij^{li} Paid to him the xiijth of Aprell for his halfe yeres penc*ion* dew to him at Thanun*ci*at*ion* of o^{r} ladie last..... } iiij^{li}

Paid to him the xvjth of October for his halfe yeres penc*ion* Dew to him at michelm*as* last paste ..... } iiij^{li}

} viij^{li}

Witham late mon.

Thomas Bristow by yere vj^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} Paid to him the xxviijth of marche for his halfe yers pen*cion* Dew to him at Thanun*ciation* of o^{r} ladie last paste	iij^{li} iij^{s} iiij^{d}	vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d} (sic)
Paid to him the xvjth of nouemb^{r} for his halfe yeres pencyon dew to him at Michelmas last past	iij^{li} iij^{s} iiij^{d}	
Philip hasford by yere xl^{li} Paid to him the xxvijth of marche for his halfe yeres pencion due to him at Thanuncyacion of o^{r} ladie last past the som of.....	xx^{li}	xl^{li}
Paid to him the iij^{d} of September for his halff yeres pencyon dew to him at Michelmas last the som of	xx^{li}	

Bathe.

John Sudbury by yere v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} Paid to him the xxth of Aprell for his halfe yeres pen*cion* dew at Thanun*ciation* of ower ladie laste	liij^{s} iiij^{d}	cvj^{s} viij^{d}
Paid to him the xxiijth of October for his halfe yeres pen*cion* dew to him at Michelmas laste paste	liij^{s} iiij^{d}	

Annuities grauntyd out of diuers late monasters and paid in Anno xxxvij^mo R R Henrici octaui.

Taunton.

John Tregonwell by yere xl^s Paid to him the xj^th of marche for his halfe yeres Annuitie dew to him at Cristmas last the som of ... } xx^s
Paid to him the xxviij^th of June for his halfe yeres annuitie dew to him at Midsomer last the som of ..... } xx^s
} xl^s

[On sheet xxxj of this vol. 249 an Annuity for one Mansfelde of £10 a year out of Muchelney is found, but he was not in all probability a monk nor was the sum paid in xxxvij Hen. viij.]

Hynton.

W^m Horde by yere liij^s iiij^d Paid to him the xxviij^th of marche for his halfe yeres Annuitie dew to him at Thanu*nciation* of o^r ladie .. .. } xxvj^s viij^d
Paid to him the xviij^th of october for his halfe yeres annuitie dew to him at Michelmas laste } xxvj^s viij^d
} liij^s iijj^d

Raphe Gybbes by yere iij^li Paid to him the laste of October for his halfe yeres annuitie dew to him at Thanu*nciation* laste ... } xxx^s
Paid to him the xij^th of December for his halfe yeres annuitie dew to him at Michelmas laste .... } xxx^s
} lx^s

Athelney.

W^m Ingland by yere xj^li Paid to him the xij^th of ffebruary for his quarters annuitie dew to him at Christmas the some of ..... } lv^s

In volume 250 (38 Hen. VIII.) the accounts cease as regards Somerset. There is a mention of Wm. Sudbrie of Bath with the sum of v^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} which he ought to have received, but did not receive. His name was more probably Godbury al. Edger. In this volume there are very numerous payments (59) in respect of Sion. But it fully bears out the inference that the pensions, where paid at all, were mostly paid by the receivers down in the country.

In volume 251 (2 Edw. VI.) there are one or two Somerset pensions, and so in later volumes, but when we get even so far as vol. 252 the total number of pensions paid at the augmentation office is very small.

The following is an extract from the ministers' accounts. It is rare to find, at least in the case of Somerset, any but the head of the house mentioned, which taken with the fact that very few payments were made in London, confirms the opinion often expressed that the pensions were in many instances either not claimed or not paid. Probably a good many accounts are missing. The rolls which do remain are in splendid preservation and very carefully drawn up. They represent from year to year the accounts of the newly acquired monastic property of every kind. As grants are made by the king of this or that manor or rectory the roll of each monastery becomes less and less, and hence the whole history of the confiscated estates is to be found in these rolls taken together with the particulars for grants of each year.

In Min. Accts. 28, 29 Hen. VIII. No. 186, there is a similar series of pensions to that which follows.

Extract from Ministers' Accounts 30—31 Hen. VIII. Somerset. No. 224.

Et in denar*iis per predictam* comput*ationem* solut*is pro* pen-	
1 li	
cone Kat*er*ine Bowcher nup*er*	
Abb*issam* ib*idem* ad 1 li *per*	
iiij li xiij s iiij d	
annu*m* marie Sidenham ad iiij li	
xiij s iiij d p*er* annu*m* Julian	
iiij li vis viij d	
Kendall ad iiij li vj s viij d *per*	
iiij li iiij li	
annu*m* Joh*an*ne hille Anne	
iiij li	
Plumbe Thomasine Huntingdon	
iiij li iiij li	
Kat*er*ine Poppeh*am* Anne Mann-	
iiij li	
feld Marie Dodyngton Alicie	
iiij li iiij li	
Hendforde Joh*an*ne Wapmyton	
iiij li iiij li	
Marie Mathew Agnete Mathewe	
iiij li	
Elizabethe Creue and Will*iam*	
iiij li	
maundesleigh cuiuslibit co*rum*	cvij li
ad iiij li p*er* annu*m* dict*um* sibi	
concesso*s pro ter*mino vite su*ae*	
*per lit*eras patent*es dicti* dom*ini*	
R*egis* data*s* sub sigillo cur*iae*	
su*ae* predict*ae* x^{mo} die maii	
anno R*egis* Henr*ici* viij xxxj^{mo}	
Hab*endum* et percipiend*um* pre-	
dict*am* penc*ionem* A festo An-	

Buckelond

nunciacionis beate marie virginis vltimo preterito usque terminum vite eorum sol ad festum sancti michalis Archangeli & Annunciationem beate marie virginis equis porcionibus prout in eisdem literis patentibus plenius continetur viz in allocatione hujusmodi pencione virtute literarum predictarum pro vltima medietate huius Annui vnacum liij li xs de Regardo siue Dono Dicti Domini Regis per easdem literas patentes eisdem concesso } cix^li x^s

Et in pencione soluta Johanni Langdon clerico cantuario iste de petherton ad vj li xiij s iiij d per Annum sic sibi concessa pro termino vite suae per Indenturam inde inter ipsum & nuper Abbissam ibidem confectam cuius datus est penultimo die octobris Anno Domini M D xxvj^to soluta ad iiij^or Anni terminos principales equis porcionibus prout in eadem Indentura plenius continetur viz in allocatione hujus modi vigore Indenturae predictae pro I quartero huius Anni finit ad ffestum Annunciationis beatae marie infra tempus huius compositionis Accidens } xxx^s iiij^d

Et in pencione soluta Johanni Sporkeleigh capellano de michelereche ad lxvjs viijd per annum sic sibi & successoribus suis imperpetuum concessa per quandam compositionem inde confectam sub sigillo dicti nuper prioris & couentus ibidem Receptor ostens & minime adhuc Restitutam solam ad iiij° anni terminos prius Viz in Allocatione hujus modi penconis virtute compositionis predictae pro I quarterio huius anni finit ad ffestum annunciationis beatae virginis infra tempus hujus modi compositionis accidens	xvj^{s} iiij^{d}	

CARDINAL POLE'S PENSION BOOK[1].

Comitatus Somerset.

Foeda	Mauricii Barkeley militis capitalis Senescalli omnium terrarum et possessionum nuper monasterii predicti per literas patentes nuper Abbatis et Conventus ibidem per annum	vjli xiijs iiijd

[1] R. O. Exchequer, Q. R. Miscellaneous Books, Vol. 32, folios XXVIII D. to XXXI.

Bathe nup*er* Priorat*us*

Annuitates

Johannis Wilman *per* annum.....lxvjs viijd
Will*iel*mi Hayes *per* annum .....lxvjs viiijd
Johannis Byrde *per* annum .....vjli xiijs iiijd
Ric*ardi* Gibbes *per* annum .....Cs
Will*iel*mi Cowper *per* annum ...iiijli xiijs iiijd
Thome Howe *per* annum .....iiijli
Johannis Tregonwell[1] *per* annum .....xls
Edwardi Leyceto[r] *per* annum .....xlvjs viijd
Will*iel*mi Crowche *per* annum .....iiijli
Johannis Pytte *per* annum .....iiijli
Thome Clerke *per* annum .....liijs iiijd

*Pen*c*iones*

Johannis Pitte nup*er* monach*i* ib*idem* p*er* annum ixli
Ric*ardi* Gryffithe *per* annum .....viijli
Johannis Bekingeton *per* annum vjli xiijs iiijd
Alexandr*i* Bull *per* annum .....vjli xiijs iiijd
Ric*ardi* Gibbes *per* annum .....Cvjs viijd
Will*iel*mi Clement *per* annum.....Cvjs viijd
Edwardi Edwaye *per* annum .....Cvjs viijd
Johannis Stile *per* annum .....Cvjs viijd
Patricii Archer *per* annum .....Cvjs viijd
Thome Stilbonde *per* annum .....Cvjs viijd
Johannis Pernet *per* annum .....Cvjs viijd
Will*iel*mi Bewshin *per* annum .....Cvjs viijd
Johannis Longe *per* annum.....iiijli xiijs iiijd
Thome Appowell *per* annum .....vjli
Johannis Browne *per* annum..... ..vjli
Ric*ardi* Bigge *per* annum .....vjli
Johannis Symond*es* m*agist*ri Hospit*a*lis *Sancti* Johannis Bapt*iste* in Bathe *per* Annum..... lxvjs viijd

[1] A visitor; it will be noticed how often his name occurs.

Mountague nuper monasterium

Feoda

Johannis Horsey militis Capitalis Seneschalli omnium possessionum nuper monasterii predicti per literas patentes abbatis et conventus ibidem per annum..... } xls

Johannis Cuffe subsenescalli et Auditoris ibidem per Scriptum Abbatis et conventus predicti per Annum..... } liijs iiijd

Annuitates

Johannis Fenne per annum .....lxvjs viijd
Thome Norman per annum .....liijs iiijd
Edithe relicte Johannis Dudley per annum ... liijs iiijd
Johannis Bevyn per annum .....liijs iiijd
Thome Phillippes per annum .....liijs iiijd
Johannis Morles per annum .....xxs
Johannis Tregold per annum .....lxvjs viijd
Johannis Tregonwell per annum.....lxs
Thome Percye per annum .....liijs iiijd

Pensiones

Roberti Gibbes alias Whitok[1] prioris .....iiij xx li
Roberti Warren per annum .....xij li
Thome Taunton per annum .....vij li
Willielmi Dyer per annum .....vj li xiijs iiijd
Johannis Crybbe per annum.....vj li xiijs iiijd
Johannis Webbe per annum.....vj li xiijs iiijd
Johannis Clerke per annum .....vj li xiijs iiijd
Willielmi Wynter per annum .....Cvjs viijd
Johannis Pawley per annum .....Cvjs viijd
Johannis Symmes per annum .....Cvjs viijd
Willielmi Crese per annum .....Cs
Johannis Rogers per annum ...iiij li xiijs iiijd

[1] Whitelock.

Brewton nuper Monasterium

Feoda

Johannis Elye subsenescalli omnium possessionum nuper monasterii predicti per scriptum abbatis et conventus ..... xiijli vjs viijd

Philippi Horner Auditoris omnium possessionum predictorum per scriptum dicti abbatis et conventus ..... xls

Annuitates

Johannis Palmer per annum .....lxvjs viijd
Johannis Wadham per annum .....xls
Johannis Tregonwell per annum .....xls
Nicholai Gilbert per annum .....vjli
Hugonis Sherwoode per annum .....Cs

Penciones

Richard Harte per annum .....vjli
Ricardi Bushoppe per annum.....vjli
Johannis Dunster per annum.....vjli
Hugonis Blackewell per annum.....vjli
Ricardi Alforde per annum.....Cvjs viijd
Willielmi Burgh per annum .....Cvjs viijd
Roberti Welles per annum .....Cvjs viijd
Ricardi Stacye per annum .....Cvjs viijd
Johannis Castlyn per annum .....Cvjs viijd
Johannis Harrolde per annum .....Cvjs viijd

Feoda

Johannis Wadham armigeri capitalis senescalli ibidem per scriptum Abbatis et conventus ibidem .....

Johannis Soper Auditoris ibidem per scriptum dicti Abbatis Conventus..... lxvjs viijd

Johannis Tregonwell per annum .....xls
Willielmi Catlowe clerici per annum .....xxxs
Johannis Wadham per annum .....vijli

Taunton nuper Priorat*us*

Annuitates

Thome Huishe *per* annu*m* .....xls
Johannis Hodgeson *per* annu*m* .....xls
Will*iel*mi Porteman *per* annu*m* .....xls
Roge*ri* Bluet mil*itis* *per* annu*m* .....xls
Henr*ici* Seymo*ur* *per* annu*m* .....xls
Joh*an*nis Hethe *per* annu*m* .....xxvjs viijd
Thome Foxe *per* annu*m* .....Cs
Jacobi Dier *per* annu*m* .....xxs
Johannis Bitford *per* annu*m* .....Cs
Will*iel*mi Grenton *per* annu*m* .....ls
Joh*an*nis Tregonwell *per* annu*m*.....lxs
Will*iel*mi Glastoke *per* annu*m* .....xls

Pen*ciones*

Nicho*la*i Beram *per* annu*m* .....vjli
Will*iel*mi Baylie *per* annu*m* .....vjli xiijs iiijd
Joh*an*nis Warren *per* annu*m* .....Cvjs viijd
Joh*an*nis Haywarde *per* annu*m* .....Cvjs
Joh*an*nis Cokeram *per* annu*m* .....Cvjs
Will*iel*mi P*ar*sons *per* annu*m* .....Cvjs
Will*iel*mi Brynesmede *per* annu*m* .....Cvjs

Bridgewater nuper Priorat*us*

Feoda

Hugonis Paulet mil*itis* cap*ita*lis sene*scal*li ib*id*em *per* scriptum Conven*tus* ..... xls

Johannis Cuffe Juni*oris* Audit*oris* *omn*ium poss*essionum* *predictarum* per consile script*um* ..... xxs

Annuitates

Will*iel*mi Porteman *per* annu*m*.....xxs
Johannis Master *per* annu*m* .....iiijli
Alex*and*ri Poppehame *per* annu*m* .....xxs
Will*iel*mi Michell *per* annu*m* .....xxxijs

Pen*ciones*

Ric*ard*i Cribbell al*ias* Kymridge *per* *annum* ... iiijli
Rober*t*i Fyssher *per* annu*m* .....iiijli
Joh*an*nis Mors *per* annu*m* .....xls
Thome Woode *per* annu*m* .....xls
Joh*an*nis Wille *per* annu*m* .....iiijli

Buckeland nuper monasterium

Feoda

Alexandri Popham capitalis senescalli ibidem per scriptum Abbatis et conventus per annum ..... } Cs

Annuitates

Supradicti Alexandri Popham per annum ..... vjli xiijs iiijd

Johannis Tregonwell per annum .....iiijli

Willielmi Porteman militis per annum ..... xxvjs viijd

Johannis Butler per annum .....xiijs iiijd

Pensiones

Johanne Hille per annum.....iiijli

Thomasine Huntingdon per annum .....iiijli

Katerine Pophame per annum .....iiijli

Anne Maundefeld per annum .....iiijli

Johanne Bavington per annum.....iiijli

Elisabethe Grene per annum.....iiijli

Agnete Mathewe per annum.....iiijli

Willielmi Maudesley Clerici per annum ...iiijli

Worspringe nuper Prioratus

Feoda

Johannis S[t]lowe militis capitalis Senescalli per Scriptum Abbatis et conventus ibidem per annum ..... } xxvjs viijd

Cannyngton nuper Prioratus

Feoda

Thome Hache capitalis senescalli tocius nuper prioratus predicte per scriptum abbatis et conventus ..... } xxs

Athelney nuper monasterium

Feoda

Ricardi Mahoo Receptoris generalis ibidem per scriptum abbatis et conventus per annum ..... Cs

Johannis Soper Auditoris ibidem per consilium scriptum abbatis et conventus ibidem ..... xls

Annuitates

Johannis Tuchet militis domini de Awdeley ... xxli
Johannis Catcote per annum .....iiijli
Johannis Chappell per annum .....xls
Johannis Tregonwell per annum.....xls
Thome Clerke per annum .....xls
Alexandri Popham per annum .....xvjs viijd
Edmundi Wynsoure per annum.....xxs
Johannis Hilley per annum .....xls
Willielmi More per annum .....xxs
Willielmi Englande per annum .....xjli

Pensiones

Roberti Hamlyn nuper abbatis ibidem per annum lli
Roberti Edgar per annum .....Cs
Henrici Poyninges per annum.....Cs
Thome Jenynges per annum .....liiis iiijd

Feoda

Johannis Windeham militis de orcharde et Johannis filii sui senescalli omnium possessionum ibidem in comitatu Devonie et Cornubie per scriptum nuper abbatis et conventus ibidem per annum ..... xxvjs viijd

Ricardi Colle Receptoris et Auditoris ibidem per scriptum eiusdem monasterii... xls

Clive nuper Monasterium

Annuitates
- Edwardi Walker per annum .....iiijli
- Margarete relicte Willielmi Priest per annum lxvjs viijd
- Ricardi Brampston per annum .....xxvjs viijd
- Johanne uxoris Henrici Marwoode per annum xxvjs viijd
- Johannis Windeham militis per annum.....xls
- Johannis Tregunwell per annum .....xxs
- Hugonis Stephen per annum .....liijs iiijd

Penciones
- Willielmi Dovell abbatis ibidem per annum ... xxvjli xiijs iiijd

Feoda
- Edmundi Goodwyn feodarii omnium possessionum predictarum per scriptum abbatis et conventus ibidem ..... xxs

Annuitates
- Willielmi Porteman per annum xli
- Johannis Cawsye per annum .....iiijli vs viijd
- Hugonis Pawlet militis per annum lxli
- Willielmi Marchionis Wintonie per annum Cs

Glaston' nuper monasterium

Penciones
- Thome Weye per annum .....vjli
- Ricardi Aisheley per annum .....vjli
- Thome Dovell per annum.....Cs
- Johannis Tanner per annum .....Cs
- Johannis Watsonne per annum...iiijli vjs viijd
- Johannis Chynnye per annum ...iiijli vjs viijd
- Thome Nycholas per annum .....Cs
- Johannis Grundell per annum .....iiijli
- Martini Noble per annum .....iiijli
- Roberti Towker per annum .....iiijli
- Johannis Sheperde per annum .....iiijli

Adhuc Glaston' nup*er* Monasterium

Pen*ciones* adhuc

- Joh*ann*is Piddesley *per* annu*m* ..... iiij li
- Will*iel*mi Gryce *per* annum ..... iiij li
- Joh*ann*is Waye *per* annum ..... iiij li
- Will*iel*mi Bishoppe *per* annum ..... iiij li
- Joh*ann*is Donne *per* annum ..... iiij li
- Joh*ann*is Houseley *per* annum ..... iiij li
- Simonis Enterdon *per* annum ..... iiij li
- Thome Carye *per* annum ..... iiij li
- Joh*ann*is Golde *per* annum ..... iiij li
- Johannis Hayne *per* annum ..... vj li
- Thome White *per* annum ..... vj li xiij s iiij d
- Will*iel*mi Huchins *per* annum ..... C s
- Aristotelis Webbe *per* annum ..... iiij li
- Nich*ola*i Andrew *per* annum ..... vj li

Keynshame nup*er* monaster*ium*

Ann*uitates*

- Johannis Edward*es* *per* annu*m* ..... xl s
- Johannis Lane *per* annu*m* ..... xl s
- Will*iel*mi Frende *per* annum ..... xl s
- Joh*ann*is Boyes *per* annum ..... xl s
- Joh*ann*is Hillarye *per* annum ..... liij s iiij d
- Will*iel*mi Popley *per* annum ..... xx s
- Johannis Osborne *per* annu*m* ..... xxvj s viij d
- Joh*ann*is Panter *per* annum ..... lij s
- Rob*er*ti Smarte *per* annum ..... vj li

Pen*ciones*

- Joh*ann*is Horne *per* annum ..... ix li
- Will*iel*mi Tybbot *per* annum ..... vj li xiij s iiij d
- Joh*ann*is Arnolde *per* annum ..... vj li
- Thome Bede *per* annum ..... C vj s viij d
- Joh*ann*is Broune *per* annum ..... C vj s viij d
- Joh*ann*is Galforde *per* annum ..... C vj s viij d
- Thome P*ar*ker *per* annum ..... C vj s viij d
- Johannis P*ar*tridge *per* annum ..... C s
- Ric*ardi* Adamps *per* annum ..... xl s

Henton nuper Monasterium
Henton nuper monasterium adhuc

Annuitates

Richardi Pynnocke per annum ...xxvjs viijd
Morgani Phillippes per annum ...xxvjs viijd
Ricardi Pope per annum .....xxs
Thome Stanter per annum .....xxvjs viijd
Willielmi Davies per annum .....xls
Hugonis Shorte per annum .....xxs
Willielmi Horde de London per annum .....
liijs iiijd
Willielmi Davyes per annum .....xvjs viijd

Pensiones

Henrici Bowman monachi per annum .....
vjli xiijs iiijd
Nicholai Ballarde per annum vjli xiijs iiijd
Thome Hellier per annum.....vjli xiijs iiijd
Roberti Savage per annum ...vjli xiijs iiijd
Thome Fletcher per annum ...vjli xiijs iiijd
Roberti Frye per annum .....vjli xiijs iiijd
Roberti Nelling per annum ...vjli xiijs iiijd
Thome Howe per annum .....xls
Johannis Bachecrofte per annum .....viijli

Withamme nuper monasterium

Pensiones

Johannis Mychell per annum .....
xxxiijli vjs viijd
Johannis Cliffe per annum.....vjli xiijs iiijd
Johannis Swymestowe per annum .....xls

Welles nuper Monasterium

Annuitates

Johannis Praunce per annum ...xxvjs viijd
Willielmi Mannynge per annum xxvjs viijd
Edwardi Dennys et Humfridi...
Yeowe per annum ..... } xxvjs viijd

Pensiones

Willielmi Markes per annum .....iiijli
Johannis Carnok per annum .....lxvjs viijd
Johannis Dytte per annum .....liijs iiijd

Nethe in Wallia nuper Monasterium — *Annuitas*

Johannis Ducke per annum ..... xls

Barliche nuper Prioratus — *Annuitas*

Edmundi Gregorye per annum ..... lxs

Mochelney nuper monasterium — *Annuitates*

Georgii More per annum..... lxs
Johannis Plumber per annum..... lxs

Cantarie Collegia Fraternitates et alia hujusmodi in Comitatu predicto — *Pensiones*

Johannis Batten ultimi incumbentis cantarie beate Marie in Ilmyster per annum ..... } Cs

Thome Mychell ultimi incumbentis Cantarie Sancte Katerine ibidem per annum ..... } Cs

Johannis Poole ultimi incumbentis Cantarie beate Marie ibidem per annum } Cs

Roberti Olyuer ultimi incumbentis Cantarie Sancte Crucis ibidem per annum } Cs

Mathie Broke ultimi incumbentis libere capelle sancti Johannis Baptiste in * * *[1] per annum ..... } iijli vs vjd

[1] Blank in Record, really South Petherton. Cf. Somerset Chantries (*Som. Rec. Soc.* Vol. II.), Ed. Green, p. 9.

fraternitates et aliorum hujusmodi in Comitatu predicto adhuc

Penciones

Willielmi Dyer ultimi incumbentis Canterie in Southepetherton per annum	Cs
Johannis Saunders ultimi incumbentis Cantarie de Wyke Parkhame per annum	lxs
Johannis Godge ultimi incumbentis Cantarie in ecclesia de Crukerne per annum	iiijli vijs iiijd
Thome Cribbe ultimi incumbentis unius Cantarie in Northecorye per annum	lxvs jd
Johannis Gente ultimi incumbentis alterius Canterie ibidem per annum ...	xxvjs
Johannis Spicer ultimi incumbentis unius seruicii in ecclesia de Wellington per annum	lxvijs vd
Willielmi Culuerwell ultimi incumbentis unius seruicii in ecclesia de Westmonketon per annum	xlvjs viijd
Willielmi Callowe ultimi incumbentis alterius seruicii in Westmonketon predicta per annum	xlvjs viijd
Johannis Hussey ultimi incumbentis in ecclesia parochiali de Bradforde per annum	Cs
Roberti Sprye ultimi incumbentis Cantarie de Combeflorye per annum	lxiijs iiijd
Petri Johns ultimi incumbentis unius Stipendii in Dunster per annum	lxvjs viijd

Canterie collegiate Guilde libere Capelle

Johannis Wetheridge ultimi incumbentis cantarie sancti Johannis in Netlecombe per annum ..... vj li

Thome Shackeley ultimi incumbentis libere Capelle de Ichestoke per annum ... Cs

Johannis Saunders ultimi incumbentis Cantarie sancti Georgii in Bridgewater per annum ..... Cs

Johannis Toller ultimi incumbentis cantarie beate Marie ibidem per annum ..... Cs

Johannis Inger ultimi incumbentis Cantarie Sancte Trinitatis ibidem per annum Cs

Johannis Saunders ultimi incumbentis libere Capelle de Sherston ... lxiij s vj d

Johannis Andersey ultimi incumbentis Cantarie de Newton Placye per annum ... Cs

Ricardi Verser ultimi incumbentis Cantarie beate Marie in Northepetherton per annum ..... Cs

Roberti Prydett ultimi incumbentis Cantarie sancte Katerine in Wullavington per annum ..... Cs

Rogeri Wymbery ultimi incumbentis Cantarie Sancte Trinitatis in Wullavington predicta ..... Cs

Ricardi Hodson ultimi incumbentis Cantarie de Catcote per annum ..... lxxij s

Johannis Clerke ultimi incumbentis libere Capelle de Blackeford per annum ... Cs

Johannis Mattocke ultimi incumbentis Cantarie Sancte Trinitatis in Chedder ..... iiij li xiij s iiij d

Adhuc Cant*arie* Collegii Frat*er*nit*ates* lib*er*e Capelle *etc.*

Penc*iones*

Joh*ann*is LLoyde ultimi incumben*tis* frat*er*nit*atis* in Banwell p*er* annu*m*	lxvjs viijd
Henr*ici* Rowe ultimi incumben*tis* Cant*arie* de Longeasheton p*er* a*nnum*	vjli
Simonis Porter ultimi incum-ben*tis* lib*er*e Capelle de Clareham p*er* annu*m*	xliiijs iiijd
Johannis Bradley ultimi incum-ben*tis* lib*er*e Capelle de Knolle p*er* annu*m*	lxs viijd
Will*iel*mus (*sic*) Powell ultimi incumben*tis* lib*er*e Capelle de Porte-burye p*er* annu*m*	xxiijs iiijd
Thome Ellys ultimi incumben-*tis* lib*er*e capelle de Norton Hawte-feld	xxvjs viijd
Rob*er*ti Bryce ultimi incumben*tis* Cant*arie* de Compton Paunceforde	Cs
Rob*er*t*i* Gaue ult*imi* incumben*tis* Cant*arie* in stafordell ex fundac*ione* dom*in*i Zowche	Cs
Rob*er*ti Hall ultimi incumben*tis* guilde siue frat*er*nit*atis* in Shepton Mallet p*er* a*nnum*	iiijli
Joh*ann*is Lirpole ult*imi* incumben*tis* Cant*arie* *Sancti* Nich*ol*ai in Frome p*er* annu*m*	Cs
Johannis Burley ult*imi* incumben*tis* Cant*arie* *sanctorum* Joh*ann*is et Andree in Frome *predicta* p*er* a*nnum*	Cs
Joh*ann*is Frye ultimi incumben*tis* lib*er*e capelle *sancte* Kat*er*ine ib*idem* p*er* annu*m*	Cs

Willielmus (*sic*) Hodges ultimi incumbentis libere Capelle de Spekingtoune per annum ...	xxxviijs iiijd
Thome Raplyn ultimi incumbentis Cantarie de Lymyngton per annum ...	lxxijs
Georgii Carewe clerici ultimi incumbentis libere Capelle sancte Trinitatis in Ilchester...	vjli xiijs iiijd
Johannis Chynne ultimi incumbentis Cantarie Beate Marie de Aller per annum	Cs

Henrici Larbecke ultimi incumbentis Cantarie Sancte Trinitatis in Yevill per annum	vjli xiijs iiijd
Johannis Whitwell ultimi incumbentis alterius Cantarie sancte Trinitatis ibidem per annum	vjli xiijs iiijd
Willielmi Trevylyan ultimi incumbentis Cantarie sancte Crucis ibidem per annum	vjli
Willielmi Slade ultimi incumbentis Cantarie in Estcoker per annum	Cs
Rogeri Boddett ultimi incumbentis libere Capelle de Cherleton per annum	xxiiijs iiijd
Johannis Shete ultimi incumbentis Cantarie in parochia de Trente per annum	vjli
Johannis Tanner ultimi incumbentis Cantarie sancti Cuthberti Wellensis per annum	lxs

Adhuc Cantarie Collegia guilde libere Capelle et aliorum hujusmodi

Penciones

Johannis Dible ultimi incumbentis Hospitalis infra civitatem Wellensis per annum	lxvjs viijd	
Ricardi Ilonde ultimi incumbentis fraternitatis de Corsecombe ac libere capelle de Est Horringdoune per annum.....	Cs	
Willielmi Peers ultimi incumbentis guilde siue fraternitatis in Charde per annum	Cs	
Johannis Drewe ultimi incumbentis Cantarie de Charleton Makarell per annum	xxiiijs	
Henrici Bull ultimi incumbentis Cantarie sancti Andree in Taunton per annum	Cs	
Radulphi Wilkins ultimi incumbentis cantarie sancti Trinitatis in Taunton predicta per annum	Cs	
Willielmi Callowe ultimi incumbentis Cantarie sancti Etheldred ibidem per annum	Cs	
Johannis Seyman ultimi incumbentis Canterie Sancti Nicholai ibidem per annum	iiijli	xvjs
Willielmi Trowbridge ultimi incumbentis Fraternitatis in Taunton predicta per annum	iiijli	
Johannis Pytte ultimi incumbentis Cantarie beate Marie ibidem per annum	iiijli	
Alexandri Maggot ultimi incumbentis Cantarie vocate Swinges chauntry ibidem	lxxviijs	iiijd
Thome Snarpone ultimi incumbentis fraternitatis in Wynscombe per annum	iiijli	

Roberti Derraunte unius nuper colliginariorum siue Cantarie in collegio siue nova aula de le Mounteroye prope Ciuitatem Wellensis per annum ... ... } lxxijs viijd

Adhuc Cantarie Collegia in Comitatu predicto

Pensiones

Johannis Eringtoune alterius nuper Colliginariorum predicti nuper Collegii per annum ..... } lxxijs viijd

Johannis Broke alterius nuper Colliginariorum predictorum per annum ..... } lxxijs viijd

Henrici Bankes alterius nuper Colliginariorum predictorum per annum ..... } lxxijs viijd

Thome Clerke alterius nuper colliginariorum predictorum per annum ..... } lxxijs viijd

Roberti Spryte alterius nuper colliginariorum nuper Collegii predicti per annum..... } lxxijs viijd

Johannis Dible unius nuper Colliginariorum sive Cantaristarum predictorum per annum } iiijli iiijs viijd

Walteri Shepperde alius nuper Colliginariorum predictorum per Annum ..... } Cs

Johannis Paule alterius dictorum nuper Colliginariorum siue Cantaristarum predictorum per annum ..... } Cs

Willielmi Burges alterius nuper dictorum Colliginariorum ibidem per annum } Cs

Johannis Shepperde alterius dictorum nuper Canteristarum per annum ..... } Cs

Adhuc Cantarie Collegiate etc. in comitatu predicto

Pencciones

Johannis Newes alterius dictorum nuper Colliginariorum sive Cantaristarum predictorum per annum	Cs
Egidii Buttat alterius nuper Cantaristarum predictorum per Annum	Cs
Morgani Connye alterius nuper Colliginariorum predictorum per annum	Cs
Ricardi Castlyn alterius nuper Colliginariorum predictorum per annum	Cs
Johannis Partridge ultimi incumbentis Canterie de Wedmore per annum ...	iiij li
Roberti Morryce nuper presbiteri in ecclesia de Wedmore predicta per annum	iiij li
Johannis More ultimi incumbentis Cantarie de Alton per annum	xx s
Richardi Laurens ultimi incumbentis Cantarie de Nunney per annum	Cs
Willielmi Hurne unius ministrorum in Ecclesia de Shepton Mallet per annum	iiij li
Johannis Baylie incumbentis seruicii in ecclesia parochiali de * *[1] per annum...	iiij li xiiij s ij d
Summa omnium solucionum in predicto Comitatu Somerset per annum	MDvij li xiiij s

[1] Blank in the Record. It ought to read Shepton Mallet. Cf. Somerset Chantries (*Som. Rec. Soc.* Vol. II.), ed. Green, Intro. p. xxii.

CHAPTER III.

The Property of the Houses.

The best way of finding out the means of living which the monks had, the property of the convents, is that of studying some scheme of accounts such as the Valor. If this be looked into, and the information supplemented by comparing later surveys of any given house, it will be seen how very complex the whole system of revenue was, and what an error it is to suppose that, holding all their land in Frankalmoign, the monks neither paid rent nor rendered service for it to the various lay or spiritual mesne lords. A religious house derived its income in many different ways. There were rents from free and customary tenants in the manors; rents from leaseholders who had taken either land or tithe at a fixed rent; and the land let out at lease might be part of the demesne lands or might be part of that which the convent held as freehold, having acquired it by purchase. Sometimes a whole manor was let out at lease. Then we must add profits from impropriated rectories, and pensions charged upon livings. At Bath and Glastonbury, to give instances of the last source of income, the sacrist, the cellarer, and even the cook, were paid by pensions; it was in fact a kind of partial impropriation.

This then was ready for the grantee. But it was by no means all. As will be seen later the demesne

lands were largely out of the personal control of the monks at the time of the Dissolution, but they were not all so; and where they were still farmed by the convents there was stock of various kinds. The monastic site, the granges and cells, the buildings with all their contents, lead from roofs, bells, libraries, vestments, plate and general furniture, have all to be added also[1].

The policy of the Government, the same in Somerset as elsewhere with regard to the monastic property, has been explained by a multitude of writers and is supposed to have been due to Cromwell's advice. The aim of course was to buy the adherence of the prominent families by allowing them to become owners on very easy terms. The great landowners in each county were thus made accomplices in the confiscation. How successfully this was managed the reign of Mary sufficiently witnessed. The ease with which so tremendous a change was effected must in great part be attributed to the careful conduct of the grantees; there was little resistance and everything became rapidly accommodated to the new state of things. "Nothing more is said about the abbeys," reported the Venetian Ambassador very shortly after the Suppression[2].

Often very advantageous exchanges[3] were allowed, or a low-priced sale, or a lease at a rent of small

[1] There are many inventories in the Record Office of the same kind as those given in the illustrations to this chapter.

[2] Gasq. II. 421.

[3] The Earls of Hertford and Sussex profited largely in Somerset in this way.

amount. It is said too that the valuations were not bona fide[1]. The small pensions were, unless extinguished in the grant, kept on foot. England has until recent years been a soil fruitful in rent-charges, every manner of small outcome has been skilfully applied to estates until at the close of the last century the network of annuities by way of mortgage or settlement that overspread the country made it very difficult to know where to look for the beneficiary. A forty shilling charge gave a vote. That all this was so may be accounted for partly by the habit coming from the manorial system of small charges with its quit-rents and customary payments; partly no doubt it arose from the ingenuity of the lawyers in providing relief for the extravagant without the degradation of a public transfer. In early times the scarcity of money, rendering an out-and-out fully discharged sale of landed property unusual and almost impossible, may have had something to do with it. The Dissolution must have done a great deal towards fixing and deepening the custom of charging lands among laymen and accustoming the holders of the charges to their transfer from one to another. The vast system of monastic charges passed into private hands, hands that were quite prepared to manipulate accounts that were in any way worth manipulating. Often too, as may be seen from the particulars preserved, in the grant of the land an estate went to one and a fee-farm rent was reserved to the crown, perhaps to be granted out again to some third party.

[1] Hunter however does not think so: pref. to Valor.

As regards real estate, immediately the Dissolution was accomplished every effort was made to secure a share in the property which was at the king's disposal. If not sold at once a lease was made of all or part of the demesnes, and that these leases were advantageous may be gathered from the eagerness with which they were sought after. He who desired such drew up 'particulars' of what property he wished to farm, and this document if approved had the authority of the Court of Augmentation given to it by a written direction that a lease should be made out. An example of such a transaction is given in the appendix to this chapter. The same course was pursued by those who wished to purchase[1]. Particulars with a request added were sent up to London and a proper direction given as to the grant to be made out. The rate of purchase was endorsed on the deed. When all was completed the grant was enrolled on the Patent Roll. Many more requests to purchase with their accompanying particulars were preferred than could be granted. There were many candidates for the same farm or site. A man too might have the promise of a good offer and then later find himself supplanted by one who had the ear of the court. As regards the sites the following is a list of the grantees:

Muchelney, the Earl of Hertford [Hugo Much. Abbey p. 13. Patent Roll 29 Hen. VIII. part 2].

Cleeve, the Earl of Sussex [Hugo Charters of Cleeve p. 53. Orig. 29 Hen. VIII. Somers. rot. 28].

[1] See the illustrations at the end of this chapter.

Worspring, Sir John St Lo [Pat. R. 30 Hen. VIII. pt. 1].

Barlyche, Sir John Wallop [Pat. R. 30 Hen. VIII. pt. 2].

Canyngton, Edward Rogers [Hugo Med. Nuns. Canyngton, p. 87 Pat. R. 30 Hen. VIII. pt. 2].

Wells St Johns, John Clerk, Bp. of Bath and Wells [Pat. R. 32 Hen. VIII. pt. 4].

Montacute, Sir Thomas Wyatt [Pat. R. 33 Hen. VIII. pt. 6].

Bath, Humphrey Colles [Pat. R. 34 Hen. VIII. pt. 11. Not Collins, as Tanner Not. Mon. Som. v.].

Bridgewater Hospital, Humphrey Colles [Pat. R. 34 Hen. VIII. pt. 11].

Dunster, Humphrey Colles [Pat. R. 34 Hen. VIII. pt. 11].

Templecombe, Richard Andrewes and Leonard Chamberleyn [Pat. R. 34 Hen. VIII. pt. 4].

Bridgewater, Franciscan House. Emanuel Lukar [Pat. R. 35 Hen. VIII. pt. 9].

Stavordale, the Earl of Oxford [Pat. R. 36 Hen. VIII. pt. 27].

Athelney, John Clayton [Pat. R. 36 Hen. VIII. pt. 9].

Taunton, Sir Francis Bryan and Matthew Colte-hirste [Hugo Taunton Priory, p. 124; Pat. R. 36 Hen. VIII. pt. 21].

Barrow Gurney, William Clerc [Hugo Med. Nuns. Mynchin Barrow, p. 67, Pat. R. 36 Hen. VIII. pt. 27].

Buckland, The Earl of Essex, James Rokeby, William Ibgrabe, John Cokke, Edward Rogers,

Edward Bury [Hugo Med. N. Mynchin Buckland, p. 163, Pat. R. 36 Hen. VIII. pt. 2].

Witham, Ralf Hopton [Pat. R. 36 Hen. VIII. pt. 5].

Hinton, John Bartlet [Pat. R. 37 Hen. VIII. pt. 3, not 36 Hen. VIII. as in Tanner].

Ilchester, William Hodges [Pat. R. 37 Hen. VIII. pt. 10].

Bruton, Sir Maurice Berkeley [Pat. R. 37 Hen. VIII. pt. 7].

Glastonbury, the Duke of Somerset.

Wells Maunde Roy, John Ayleworthe and John Lacy.

Keynsham, Thomas Bridges.

The conclusions to be drawn from the names are fairly obvious. Probably owing to the great noblemen who were interested in the district, and also owing to the fame which Glastonbury must have had, most of the Somerset houses were well known, and a great part of their property passed into the hands of what would be described as country gentlemen; more at all events than in most counties. At the same time comparing the above list with the list preserved of those who were men of some property in Henry VII.th's time in the county, or who had served the county in the capacity of sheriff or member, it will be found that apart from the noblemen there are but to be found the names of Rogers and Berkeley. On the other hand after these grants there appear in similar lists the Hoptons, Colles, and others, shewing, not that the latter at the Dissolu-

tion were below the class of gentlemen then so carefully hedged in, but that they were not among the circle among which the offices of the county were distributed. It is very common to talk of the 'new men' of the Tudor period, but to do so can only be approximately correct. Almost all the stock examples had been 'armigeri,' gentlemen, two hundred years before they rose to great prominence, and as such were more than probably representatives of younger branches of ancient families[1]. This may be said of the Cavendishes and Russells, and in Somersetshire of men like the Strangways, Sydenhams, and Pophams. The sneer too with which the representatives of the De Veres, Howards, de Courcys are usually supposed to have greeted the new men was more than probably non-existent. No corresponding feeling can be traced on the Continent, at all events, about this period, where formal and luxurious, if dying, feudalism tended rather towards an equality among armigeri. Of this the arrangement of the Court of Henry IV. may be given as an example. The really new feature of the aristocracy was that it represented the changed state of the nation at large. It was in fact an 'aristocracy of office,' and everything favoured its formation.

But the sites and demesne lands, though most closely connected in our minds with the monastic system, by no means complete the matter. From an index of the grants termed 'decrees issuing out of the Court of Augmentations' year by year during the latter part of the reign of Henry the Eighth, it

[1] E.g. Hinton and Keynsham.

may be learned how minute was the distribution of Abbey wealth. Many small pensions charged on the various conventual properties are granted to one and another. Just before dissolution too all the offices in the monasteries which had a money value appear to have been usurped by powerful and avaricious laymen. Thus Andrew Luttrell and his son John, both of Dunster, become land stewards to the Convent of Cleeve. The same unhappy house had to appoint John Wyndham and his son stewards of their courts leet; a similar course was taken at Bath, Taunton and Keynsham. And not merely were annuities and offices so granted, but leases made upon easy terms by the Houses in their terror, rectories given, and rights of wood-cutting and the like. Of all these there are many examples. Taunton gives the next presentation to Ninehead to three grantees. Worspring grants a farm to Sir John Seyntlow; Bridgewater 300 acres of wood to the Earl of Bath. The custom of giving offices to laymen was not a new one but was much extended by the circumstances of the time.

The forced sales and grants must have affected the price of land, but it will be noted later that together with other economic causes which kept the price steadier than might be supposed was the fact that the largest owners were not land merchants but men with families to keep up or those who hoped to found a wealthy house. If men who have a thousand acres each receive severally ten thousand acres more, and to all appearance intend to quietly hold them, the old tenants not being displaced, it is not to be

expected that the price of land will either rise or fall very greatly excepting as between grantees and the grantor, who in this instance was the king. The case of course was entirely different after the French Revolution in France: the important point is that in England buyers who took monastic land were not generally or even often speculators but men who intended to hold the property as an ancestral estate.

What amount of land the monasteries held the following attempts at calculation will shew how difficult it is to say. Leaving for a moment the chantries, the surveys we possess note the rentals but not the acreage; and then again as has been indicated the religious houses tapped the profits of the soil in every possible way, so that all attempts at deducing the acreage from the income must be, at least, considerably wide of the mark. What do we mean by owning land? At the present day the lord of a manor would certainly not be reckoned as the owner of the freeholds because the quit-rents are of such trifling value; again the copyholds are in almost the same condition, the customary rents having been fixed from the time of Edward IV. But it was different in Henry VIII.'s time, and yet even then the rents of the free tenants and of the copyholders would not represent anything approaching to a rack rent. It is said too that the demesnes were not let on hard terms, and then again we have the system of fines on leasing which interferes so greatly with accurate calculation. It has been estimated that a fifth of the land in England in 1530 was in religious hands. Somerset had more than its share of convents, so

that we ought to take a fourth for that county. The rental was somewhere about £7000 per annum without the chantries. Now calculating from Mr Green's volume the average rent of an acre of land seems about 1*s.* 6*d.*, but that is probably too high for large conventual estates, most of the chantry fields, with which the 'survey' was concerned, being what we should term accommodation land, so that a shilling a year perhaps would not be far wrong. This would give us 140,000 acres.

Now as to the chantries. From the same source, Mr Green's edition of the survey and rental, we learn all about their property. A few illustrations are appended to this chapter. The chantry priests though not rich men were comfortably provided for; their five pounds per annum coming from rent-charges on neighbouring properties, or directly from small rented closes of land. The whole income in the county amounted to over nine hundred pounds, to which we must apply the one and sixpenny scale, giving as a result 12,000 acres.

We have about 150,000 acres then out of an unknown total (about 900,000 are under cultivation at the present day[1], probably not more than 700,000 were then).

But the above is after all valueless excepting as shewing how dangerous such calculations are, for this reason if for no other. No account is taken of house property. If such had been reckoned the acreage would be largely reduced. The convents held many messuages, as can be seen from the accounts, and the chantries were in the same position. If this and

[1] Agr. Returns for 1885.

the unreal nature of manorial ownership are remembered, although the two qualifications may seem to counteract each other as elements of error, no real reliance will be placed upon figures as to the acreage[1].

The fate of the chantry lands was perhaps more varied than that of the convents. Although all were nominally vested in the crown private persons secured possession of a good deal of property, bringing up ancient claims, or again boldly usurping[2]; this before as well as at the time of the Suppression. Land in the king's hands was managed by receivers and slowly distributed among private grantees either by purchase or gift. In some very few cases, as we shall see later, the promises as to education were carried out, but in the main the lands, which in very many instances as appears in another chapter were by their original grantors directly charged with periodic donations to the poor, were diverted from their proper uses and passed into private hands[3].

The cattle belonging to the convents were sold in the neighbourhood. Their number must have been considerable; for one reason because the stock and land

[1] It must not be forgotten that many other houses held land in the county, and that some part of the income allowed above came from sources outside Somerset.

[2] E.g. Francis at Combe Flory (the Francis who was killed fighting against the Devonshire rebels): Popham and Halley at Selworthy: Bluett and Taylor at West Buckland: the Keneryges at Hunspyll &c.; all in Green (*Survey and Rental*).

[3] A great deal of chantry property was concealed, as will probably be fully related in a future volume of the Somerset Record Society's publications. There is a bundle of documents relating to Somerset concealed lands in the Record Office. A note on the subject has been added to the illustrations at the end of this chapter.

lease still continued to be employed by the convents[1]; for another because a large number of obytes and the like were supported by herds devised to trustees for that object, as may be seen from Mr Green's work.

We have now to enquire what became of the bells, plate, vestments, and books, and to glance at the fate of the many noble buildings which the piety or superstition of eight hundred years had reared. The actual monastery, the dwelling-house of the monks, was sometimes turned into a mansion, as at Bruton, Mynchin Barrow, and Glastonbury. But there was not much residence in the Somerset houses, or at least not for long. A party of Commissioners and their followers went through the county melting the lead and selling materials from the buildings where anything was to be made of them. The fact that the lead was hacked from the fine roofs explains how it was that Athelney, Montacute, Witham, Hinton, and Bruton have so little to remind one of the monks. Once get the roof off a building and it soon perishes, whereas, if the splendidly built monastic barns are any evidence, there have been no more lasting fabrics in England than those which the orders built, when any care has been taken of them; in other words when the new owners have thought they could be of any use. Bells[2] were certainly not

[1] For an example see in the *Reliquary*, Vol. II. p. 58, an account of one given by the convent of Dieulacres in 1504. A manor was let with eight oxen, twelve cows, and one bull for forty-four years, at twenty-six pounds a year. Extracts from Canterbury and Bath stock and land leases are given in an appendix to the chapter on tenure.

[2] Nothing is more characteristic of the 16th century than the passionate love for bell-ringing among the poor. Froude touches

useless, but they fetched a little money, so we find these gentlemen from London disposing of them at the various houses, as is shewn by the accounts printed in the Appendix to this chapter.

Many of the chantry houses had been let before the Dissolution[1]; so even the chantry chapels[2]. As the house was often a pleasant one the vicar of the parish was glad to rent it. Where no more

on this in his history (Vol. I. p. 62). Hentzner writing in 1598 says of the English that they are "vastly fond of great noises "that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the "ringing of bells, so that it is common for a number of them "that have got a glass in their heads to go up into some belfry, "and ring the bells for hours together for the sake of exercise." *New Shakesp. Soc. Pub.*, Series VI. p. lxvi.

The authorities did not think so much ringing good for the Somerset man, as tending to superstition. A curious letter, taken by Mr Green from the Wells MSS., shews this. It is addressed to the chapter and all churchwardens, and requests them "to "abstain from such unmeasurable ringing for ded persons at "theire buriall and at the feast of All Soules. And that from "hencefurthe they use to ringe oon bell at such tyme as sicke "persones lyeth in extreme daunger of death that they which be "haile may be put in remembraunce of theire owne mortalitie "and also excited to praie unto God for soche their sicke neigh- "bours, that they may pacientlie suffer death if God send it and "the hard panges thereof for Christes love, who suffered much "more for them, and that they may so departe out of this life in "true faithe, hope, and charitie, as their soules may be afterward "received into eternall felicitie to raigne with Christ everlastinglie "in the kingdom of Heaven. And when the corps of any such "dead person shall be brought to the church to be buried then to "ring also moderatlie in the time of the obsequies thereof and no "longer."

[1] E.g. at Ilminster, Crewkerne, South Petherton, Taunton, Pitminster, Dunster, Cannyngton, &c. Green, *The Survey and Rental.*

[2] As at Curry Mallett, Bishop's Lydiard, Lenge, Murlynche, Blackeforde, Overwere &c. (ib.).

service was performed[1] the chantry priest sometimes lived on, paying a fixed sum per year. Thoroughly characteristic examples of a chantry house may be seen at Trent or at Stoke[2].

The above seems to require a slight explanatory digression. Perhaps a few words will clear the matter of chantries, which is certainly not too commonly understood. It may from the above have been implied that where a chantry was founded there was always a chantry chapel, a place where the chantry priest could sing or chant masses for the soul of the founder. This was often so, but the building was not generally separate from the church. Much the most usual fashion was for a small chapel to be added at one side of the chancel, a fine tomb of the founder[3] being usually placed there, and a small altar for the priest's use. Unfortunately we have lost all the decorations of these chapels, which were decided to be superstitious after the Dissolution; in many cases too we have lost the chapels themselves. With regard to those chantries which stood alone many fell into decay[4], but some were retained

[1] The condition of many of the chantries will be more particularly alluded to in the chapter on religion.

[2] Trent. This is perhaps as good an example as can be found. The chantry priest's house, in capital preservation, stands a little north-east of the parish church, it is two stories in height and for a single man amply large enough. Curiously the priest had obtained permission to alter the church for his own convenience, in consequence of which the transept runs parallel with the nave instead of from south to north as is usual.

[3] A valuation of the iron railings round one of these tombs appears in Green, p. 100.

[4] Many, as Green shews, had done so before the Dissolution. Too often they were but 'slackly' attended.

by the Commissioners to form churches for districts where the church accommodation was insufficient, and as such have lasted down to our own day[1].

Speaking still of the chantries, all the lead, amounting to over three thousand pounds weight, was sold to one Hyde for £128. 10*s.*[2], that is to say all the lead it was decided to remove. This of course settled the fate of the buildings. Little care was in fact taken of any removable property except plate, which all went up to London[3] and was much of it simply melted down. It goes without saying that the artistic loss to the county was enormous. There were no bell-founders and metal workers like the monks had been, from St Dunstan downwards. The Englishman who visits Cordova or Seville cannot fail to be struck with the iron and bronze work in the cathedrals, and he will notice how the ecclesiastical ideas are reflected in the private gates and railings of the principal houses. If he reflects on the poor screen-work that his own country has until quite recently manufactured, poor that is to say if compared with what he will see in the chapels of Seville, it will perhaps occur to him that some loss of inspiration has come upon what surely ought to be the best of English decorated workmanship.

[1] E.g. Eston Minor, "The chapell maye welbe spared for that Eston Maior standeth w^t^in ij furlonge and nearer the towne." Green, p. 98.

[2] Green, *Introduction*, xvii.

[3] How valuable it was may be seen in *Monastic Treasures*, published by the Abbotsford Club. Pollarde, Tregonwell, Petre, and Smithe were the Somerset Commissioners who gave it in.

And not merely is this decadence to be traced in iron and bronze but in stone and wood, in gold and silver. Those who understand such matters will point to the last century as a time of imitation in the designing of silver plate. And if a chalice of the pre-Reformation period[1] be compared with the Elizabethan example, it will be seen how much had been lost by some sort of vulgarizing which the workmanship had undergone. Some of the older Communion vessels were fortunately preserved as drinking vessels, just as vestments were made into cushion-covers, and altar-cloths into the hangings of noblemen's houses. Many of the vestments came to this fate through the visitors, whose perquisites they were considered[2], unless they were jewelled or otherwise too valuable.

The chantry plate was very carefully catalogued in the survey. Thirty-eight chantries are returned as having no Communion vessels at all[3]; occasionally because two or three neighbouring chapels used the same chalice. In other cases it was because the plate belonged to the patron. One hundred and eighteen had the necessary church valuables, and the highest weight registered for a chalice was at Croscombe 26 ozs., as compared with 5 oz. the

[1] Examples of the earlier time can be seen at Nettlecombe, Somerset and C.C. Oxon.; of the later at Cirencester, Rayningham, or Welbeck. Cripps, *Old English Plate*, 175.

[2] Gasq. II. 418. From the inventory of a friary printed at the end of this chapter it may be seen how valuable vestments were considered by the country people.

[3] Again, it appears from a commission printed in *Archæologia*, Vol. XVIII. p. 299, that a good deal of plate &c. belonging to the chantries &c. had been concealed.

lightest at North Curry. Allowing an average for the missing returns the weight of all this chantry plate which went up to London was about 1640 ozs. for the county. To the value of this must be added £50 received for ornaments and £128. 10*s.*[1] for the lead, both sums greatly below the real value in all probability.

Books, many of them, went up to London[2], some as presents to Cromwell, others because of their value. Multitudes were destroyed, Leland's awe on entering Glastonbury library not being at all a common sentiment of the time. Many as Bale notes were sent abroad, "At tymes whole shippes full, to the wonderinge of the foren nacyons[3]."

If one wonders how all the proceeds of the spoils were spent it must be answered in the words of Johnson, "Sir, you may wonder." A very small sum went for educational purposes, as will be seen later. £1200 of Somersetshire money strengthened Portland[4]. More perhaps was intended, but as father Gasquet has shewn[5] the spending of the money was managed in a very different manner from what had been promised. The only immediate benefit which Somerset gained from the destruction of many of its local charities was, besides the few free schools, the new endowment of the dean and chapter of Wells[6]. It is really astonishing to find how short a time the large sums of money obtained kept Henry out of debt.

[1] The Survey passim *Som. Rec. Soc.* Vol. II.

[2] See p. 34.

[3] *Archæologia*, Vol. XLIII. p. 203.

[4] Gasq. II. 437.

[5] II. 446.

[6] See particulars for grants.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

I. Three Accounts from Green, Somerset Chantries.

1. *Taunton.* Parish of St Mary Magdalen.

The chantry of the name of Jesu.

Roger Yde holds a burgage there lying in Este Strete and renders per ann. xxs.

Anthony Garrat holds a burgage there, and renders per ann. xxs.

Philip Arther holds a burgage there, and renders per ann. xviijs.

John Dolman holds a burgage there, and renders per ann. xxs.

..... holds a burgage in Mercery lane, and renders per ann. vis viijd.

..... Manse of the county of Devon, holds a little house next the east gate there (in the tenure of Thomas Nosse), and renders per ann. vis viijd.

Robert Marler holds a burgage there, and renders per ann. xxs.

William Randall holds a window in the market place there, and renders per ann. iiijs.

Roger Decher holds a window there, and renders per ann. vis.

Laurence Boyton holds a window there, and renders per ann. vis viijd.

John Hurman holds a window there, and renders per ann. vis.

John Hooke holds a window there, and renders per ann. iiijs iiijd.

John Yonge holds a burgage in Newerton, and renders per ann. vis viijd.

Maurice Daber holds a tenement there, and renders per ann. vs.

William Skoryar holds a meadow lying next Newerton aforesaid, and renders per ann. vs.

John Newport holds a burgage in Bridgewater, and renders per ann. xiijs iiijd.

Total viiili viijs iiijd.

Deduct in. Rent resolute to the Bishop of Winton for free rent of the premises per ann. viz. for the tenement of John Harrys iis; the tenement of Roger Yde xviijd; for the tenement of Philip Arther ijs; the tenement of John Dolman xijd; for the tenement in Mercery Lane viijd; the tenement of Mande id; and for the tenement in Powles Street xijd:—viijs iijd.

Rent resolute to Lord Fitzwaren for free rent for the land next Newerton, per ann. xiijd.

Total ixs iiijd.

And remains over per ann. viili xixs.

2. *Bedmyster.* The free chapel or hospital of St Katherine there.

Richard Hall holds the scite and demesne lands of the said hospital, and renders per ann. viili.

Alice Sparrer holds two acres of meadow in Lookemoor, and renders per ann. iijs iiijd.

John Coke holds one acre of meadow in Wademore, one acre of meadow in Boenmede and one

acre of meadow in Rodmede, and renders per ann. vis iiijd.

Divers persons hold as well according to the custom as at will divers lands and tenements in Bedmyster and Aisheton in the county of Somerset, and in Barkeley in the county of Gloucester to the said hospital belonging, and render per ann. xiijli xvijs viijd.

..... holds a certain tenement in the city of Bristoll, and renders per ann. viijs.

..... holds three little cottages called almes-houses in the parish of Redclyff in the suburbs of Bristoll, and renders per ann. nil, because they are inhabited by paupers.

Total xxjli xvs iiijd.

Deduct in money paid to the Lord the king as for the price of a pound of pepper per ann. for chief rent iiijs iiijd. Money paid to the said Lord the king for suit of court to be annually performed xijd.

Total vs iiijd.

And remains over xxjli xs.

3. *Babcary.* The free chapel of Fodington within the parish there.

..... holds a close of pasture containing an acre and a half and xxiij acres of arable land, and two acres and a half of meadow there, and renders per ann. xvs iiijd.

..... holds the tithe of corn there, and renders per ann. xxs.

..... holds the tithe of hay from xv acres of meadow there, and renders per ann. iijs.

..... holds the small tithes there, and renders per ann. xxd.

II.

Whilst some of the villagers near the chantries were passive, others thought that some public use should be made of the spoils. We are not now referring to education but to cases like these.

"Yatton. An olde chapell ther.

"Memord. The saide chapell scituate w^t^in the "churche yarde of Yatton is partly cow'yd w^t^ lead ij "fooder do (½).

"Then habitauntes of Yatton aforesaide, make "humble sute to bye the same chapell to make "therw^t^ a slluse against the rage of the see, for the "safegarde of the countrye[1]."

"Mylverton.

"The chapell of the chauntrie standing w^t^in the "churche yerde couered w^t^ leade is estemed worthe "to be sold xli. w^ch^ then habitauntes of the towne of "Mylverton, beinge the kinges ma^ties^ tenantes do "desire to bye, for helpe of conveyaunce of water to "the towne w^t^ the saide leade, for lacke wherof they "haue nowe great annoyaunce."

On the other hand we have

"The chapell of Enborowe.

"The saide chapell is couered with leade, and so "that the same may be tyled, then habitauntes ther "are content that the kinges ma^tie^ may have the "leade[1]."

[1] All from Green, the *Rental.*

III. Particulars for a Lease.

Parcella possession*um* nup*er* monaster*ii* de Bruton in Com*itatu* Somer*set*.

Parcella man*erii* Bruton in Com*itatu* Somer*set*

Val*et* in

Redd*itu* vnius Tenemen*ti* iacent*is* in alt*ero* vico De Bruton inter Tenementum Roberti Helyer ex p*ar*te occident*ali* & Tenementum Will*iel*mi Northe ex p*ar*te orient*ali* cum j curtilag*io* & j orris cum omnib*us* p*er*tinent*ibus* necnon J acr*ae* bosc*i* iacent*is* in inferiore p*ar*te Bosc*i* voc Brynescogleigh J clausae pastur*ae* apud Newclose J clausae pastur*ae* & J clausae prat*i* voc*atae* puddlestone subt*er* Kanley Ac J clausae pastur*ae* iacent*is* in orient*ali* p*ar*te cuiusd*am* clausae ib*ide*m nup*er* in tenur*a* Thome Affilde vnacum omnib*us* subbosc*is* ib*ide*m crescenti*bus* necnon J clausae pastur*ae* voc*atae* estevernegore cum omnib*us* & singulis *suis* pertinen*tiis* sic dimiss*ae* Joh*anni* Walton & Will*iam*o fil*io* *suo* p*ro* *termino* vite eo*rum* p*er* Indentur*am* dat*am* iiij^to^ Die novembr*is* An° *regis* henr*ici* viij^ui^ Quinto (*sic*) p*rout* in eadem Inden*tura* plenius cont*inetur* p*er* annum .....

xxvijs

xxxjs

	Reddit*u* vnius clausae pastur*ae* iacent*is* apud Combe crosse cu*m* omn*ibus* pertinen*tiis* nuper in tenura p*re*dicti Will*iel*mi Walton p*er* annu*m*	iiij s	

Memo that theis p*ar*ticulers be for a leas to be hadd therof and nott to purchas it is a good Bargen and the laste fyne was vjli as I have larned Also the p*ar*ties abouesaide be dead & nowe in the tenur*e* of on*e* Stephen Erbery.

Ex^d^ p*er* Rad*olphu*m Lambe deputat*um* Mathie Coltehirste audit*o*ris.

Make a lease of the p*re*mysses vnto Stephyn Erberye for t*er*me of xxj yer*es* payeng the rent aforseyd & xli for a fyne.

Edward North[1].

IV. Particulars for a Grant.

The first membrane.

M^d^ that we Wyllia*m* Hogges the Elder and Wyllia*m* Hogges the younger do Requyre to purchas of the kynge*s* ma^tie^ by vertu of his gracys commission of sale the premysses conteyned in the partyculers whare vnto these p*resentes* are annexed beynge of suche clere yerely value as ys comprysed in the same In wytnes whereof to these p*resents* I haue subscribed my name and putto my seale the xxiiij^th^ of ffebruary in the xxxvj yere of the reigne of o^r^

[1] R.O. Augm. Off. Misc. Bks. vol. 194, fo. 34 (Particulars for leases).

souerayne Lorde kynge Henry the viij[th] by the grace of god kynge of ynglonde ffraunce and Irelonde defendoure of the ffaythe and of the churche of ynglonde and also of Irelonde in erthe supreme hedd.

William Hodges thelder William Hodges junior.

The second and third membranes are covered with schedules of various manors which had been the property of the Marquis of Exeter.

The fourth membrane contains an account of Blandford Rectory.

The fifth and sixth membranes have valuations of certain Dorset property of Sherborne Abbey.

On the seventh membrane we have :

Comitatus Somerset

nuper Prioratus ffratrum ffranciscanorum de Ivelchester in parochia de Ivelchester in dicto comitatu Somerset	Valet in	Ffirma Totius Scitus nuper Prioratus ffratrum ffranciscanorum de Ivelchester predicto in dicto comitatu Somerset cum Orte pomaria Gardinia ac vno paruo Grovetta & omnibus aliis suis pertinentiis eidem nuper prioratui pertinentibus sic dimissi Johanni Cuffe Seniori per Indenturam vt asseritur Reddenda inde Annuatim ..... xiij s iiij d

What ffyne or Income was given for the premisses I knowe nott Also it lieth xij miles ffrome any of

the kinges *graces* howses ffores*tes* Chaces or *parkes* w*che* byn reser*ued* & kept for thaccesse of his highnes I haue made *par*ticulers hereof to no other *person* nor I knowe no other dissitus to bye the same but the brynger hereof. What wodd*es* grow*e* vpon the *pr*emisses the surveyo*r* therof can certifie

Ex*aminatus* per Matthiam Coltehirste auditorem.

The eighth membrane

Comitatus Somerset

The Scyte and demeans of the late pryorye or house of Greye ffreers in Ilchester in the *par*yshe of Ilchester in the seyd countye

There were growing about seytuacon of the seyd late pryorye in one grovett there and in the demeans of the same cexx ashes and elmes of lx lxxx & c yeres growt *parte* tymber and *parte* vsually cropped & shred w*che* were sold to one Robert Cuffe of Ilchester in the seyd countye gent by Sir Thomas Arondell knight for the some of eight poundes sterling as apperyth by a byll of the sale therof sygned & sealyd by the hand and Seale of the same Sir Thomas beryng date the xxix day of maye in the xxxi*ti* yere of the reign of o*r* souer*aigne* Lord kyng henry theight And the money therof accompted for to the knges highnes vse and the bargayne allowed good & effectuell as by a byll signed w*t* the hand of Sir

ij l

Thomas pope knight chefe master of the kinges ma^ties woodes of the courte of Augmentacons of the revenues of his highnes Crowne bering date the xxx^th day of Octobr in the xxxvj^th yere of o^r seyd soueraigne lordes Raigne more planely doth appere, therfore the seyd trees not valuyd ...

Ex*aminatus per* me Dauid Clayton.

The ninth membrane refers to parts of the possessions of the convent of Lenton in Nottinghamshire.

The tenth membrane reads as follows :

*Par*cella possessionum nup*er* prioris*se* de Buckelond' in com*itatu* Som*erset*.

Ciuitas Wellen. Val*et* in

- Redd*itu* siue ffirma vnius ten*emen*ti Burgag*ii* ib*idem* cum pertin*entibus* mo*do* in tenur*a* siue occupac*ione* Thome Body de anno in annu*m* Reddendo inde p*er* annu*m* ..... — xxs
- Redd*itu* siue ffirma vnius al*ius* ten*ementi* Burg*agii* ib*idem* cum p*ertinentibus* in tenur*a* siue occupac*ione* *Christoph*ori Coke de anno in Annu*m* Reddendo p*er* Annum ..... — xxs
- Redd*itu* siue ffirm*a* alterius ten*emen*ti Burg*agii* ib*idem* cum p*ertinentibus* in tenur*a* siue occupac*ione* Leticie de anno in Annu*m* Reddendo inde p*er* Annum ..... — ixs

xlixs at ix yere pches

These be the ffirst *par*ticlers therof made to anye man Also I knowe no other *per*sone desyrous to by the same nor the kyng*es* grace hath no more land*es* or Ten*ementes* there appteynyng to the said late prioris.

Ex*aminatus* *per* Rad*olphum* Lambe deputat*um* mathie Coltehirste Auditor*is* ib*idem*.

Membrane 11.

Com*itatu* Som*erset* { P*arcella* possessionu*m* nup*er* priorat*us* siue hospit*ii* *sancti* Joh*annis* de Bridgewater in d*icto* Com*itatu*.

Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ib*i*-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Anthonii Lambte Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	viij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ib*i*-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Ric*ardi* Hapgood Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	iiij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ib*i*-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* George Aysshe Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	x s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ib*i*-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Ric*ardi* Cattell reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	xiij s

Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Will*iami* Gully Reddendo inde per ann*um*	xviij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in Tenur*a* Hourt Reddendo inde per ann*um*	vj s viij d
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Thome Gonghe Reddendo inde per ann*um*	vij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Pylle Reddendo inde per Ann*um*	xs
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Brythe Reddendo inde per ann*um*	vs

Reddi*tu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*annis* Parre Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	vjs viijd
Reddi*tu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Mauric*ii* Jonys *per* Ann*um*	xs
Reddi*tu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*annis* Canworthe Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	vjs viijd
Reddi*tu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*annis* fallantyne Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	viijs
Reddi*tu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Anthonii lambte Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	viijs
Reddi*tu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* margarete Gribull Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	viijs

Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Will*iami* Anstys Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	iiij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*annis* Newport Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	viij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*annis* Dobyne Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	v s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*annis* Gelle Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	v s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*annis* Aunde-bake Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	xij s

Redditu vnius Tenementi siue Burgagii ibidem modo aut nuper in tenura Johannis Wassalle Reddendo inde per annum	xvjd
Redditu vnius Tenementi siue Burgagii ibidem modo aut nuper in tenura Ricardi Gary Reddendo inde per annum	vs
Redditu vnius Tenementi siue Burgagii ibidem modo aut nuper in tenura Johannis Taylor Reddendo inde per annum	vs
Redditu vnius Tenementi siue Burgagii ibidem modo aut nuper in tenura Johannis Beddell Reddendo inde per annum	iiijs
Redditu vnius Tenementi siue Burgagii ibidem modo aut nuper in tenura Williami Jonys Reddendo inde per annum	vs

Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Rob*er*ti Hill Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	xs
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*an*nis a Wood al*ias* Toker p*er* ann*um*...	vs
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Jacobi Boys Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	xxs
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Thome Philippes Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	ij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Cristine Dow-dynge Redd*endo* inde p*er* ann*um*	xs
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*an*nis Oder Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	iij s iiij d

Villa siue Burg*us* de Bridgewater

Val*et* in

Redd*itu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*ann*is Hanslowe Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um* .... } xxd

Redd*itu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*ann*is Bryce Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um* ..... } viijs

Redd*itu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*ann*is Bonde Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um* ..... } xiiijs

Redd*itu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Simon Vynycombe Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um* ..... } vjs viijd

Redd*itu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Alicie Norman Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um* ..... } ijs vjd

At ix yere p*er*ches xxjli iijs iiijd ex*aminatus* p*er* Matthiam Coltehirste Audit*orem*

Redd*itu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*a*nnis Ryngston Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	xiij s iiij d
Redd*itu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*a*nnis Hansslove Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	viij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*a*nnis Morle Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	xij s viij d
Redd*itu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*a*nnis Welle Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	vj s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*a*nnis Walle Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	iiij s

Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Roger*i* Bowcher Reddendo inde per annum	vs
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Will*iami* Wiells Reddendo inde per annum	xiij s iiij d
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*annis* Caffe Reddendo inde per annum	iij s iiij d
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Will*iami* Chaun-deler per annum	xij d
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Ric*ardi* Tyrell Reddendo inde per annum	iiij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Benet vid*uae* Redd*endo* inde per annum	iiij s

Reddit*u* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*ann*is ffyssher Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	vjs viijd
Reddit*u* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Walter*i* Coke Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	xijd
Reddit*u* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Will*iam*i Nyght-yngall p*er* ann*um*	xs
Reddit*u* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*ann*is Rayne Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	iijs iiijd
Reddit*u* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Thome phyllippes p*er* ann*um*	xijd
Reddit*u* vnius Tene*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Ric*ard*i Cantell Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	iiijs

Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*de*m mo*do* aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Will*ia*mi Wellyshe p*er* ann*um*	ij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*de*m modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Ric*ard*i Maynard Redd*endo* inde p*er* ann*um*	v s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*de*m modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Darby Harte Reddendo*o* inde p*er* ann*um*	iiij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*de*m modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*ann*is longe Reddendo*o* inde p*er* ann*um*	iiij s vj d
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*de*m modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* David Irysshe Redd*endo* inde p*er* ann*um*	iiij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*de*m mo*do* aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Will*ia*mi Maundesley p*er* ann*um*	vj d

Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Ric*ardi* Tyrrell Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	iiij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* m*odo* aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Will*iam*i Nelle Redd*endo* inde p*er* ann*um*	vs
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* m*odo* aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Will*iam*i Traffye Reddendo inde p*er* ann*um*	vs
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* m*odo* aut nup*er* in tenur*a* mauric*ii* Degone p*er* ann*um*	iiij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* m*odo* aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Margarete Hyat p*er* ann*um*	xvj d
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Rob*er*ti Thomas p*er* ann*um*	viij d

Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Thome Lewter Reddend*o* inde *per* ann*um*	iiij s
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* m*odo* aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Rob*er*ti Gregorye Redd*endo* inde *per* ann*um*	viij d
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Thome Squyer *per* ann*um*	x d
Redd*itu* vnius Tene-*menti* siue Burg*agii* ibi-*dem* modo aut nup*er* in tenur*a* Joh*ann*is Gold Reddendo inde *per* ann*um*	viij d

The forsaid ten*ementes* lyeth in the towne and p*ar*isshe of Bridegewater and haue no land*es* excepte Gardyns apperteynynge to them & certeyne of the tenaunt*es* there are bownde to Rep*ar*acions. Also the kynge*s* Ma^{tie} is chargyd w^{t} a ffee of xl s by the yere gr*a*unttyd to one John Hodge*s* Bally and Collector as well of the Rentt*es* of the said Burgage*s* as of fforen Rentt*es* of other land*es* and ten*ement*es belongynge to the said p*rior* w^{ch} ammounteth to the yerely value of xviij li xviij s viij d ob And ffardermore thiese be the first p*artic*ulers that I

haue made to any *per*son hereof Also the kynge*s* grace hath byne chargyd w^t Repa*ra*cio*n*s vacacio*n*s & decayes there in an° cvjs iijd xxxiiij to vjli ijs xxxv to xli vijs & xxxvj to *Regis* nostri w^ch ammountith to xxjli xvs viijd

Ex*amina*tus *per* Mathiam Coltehirste audito*rem*

xvj^mo Die maii A° xxxvij^mo *Regis* Henrici viij^ui *pro* Geraldo Erington gene*roso*

The Rente of lxix Tenemente*s* or Burgagez w^th there App^urtenance*s* lyeng w^thin the Towne or Borough of Bridgewater in the Countie of Some*r*sett pa*r*cell of the possessions of the late priore or hospitalle of Seint Johns in Briggewater ys by the yere } xxjli iijs iiijd

The Rente or fferme of ij tenemente*s* or Burgages in the Citie of Welles pa*r*cell of the possessions of the late priorie of Bucklond in the Countie of Some*r*sett by the yere ..... } xlixs

Su*mma* xxiijli xijs iiijd which rated at ix yerez pu*r*chace Dothe Amounte to the som*me* of ccxijli xjs To be paid in hande cxijli xjs And c^li the Rest at Barthelmewtyde next.

The teanure in Socage.

memo*randum* the kyng must Discharge the pre*mis*se*s* of All incombraunce excepte Leasez And excepte suche charge*s* As the ffermors ar bounde to Discharge by force of there Indentures.

Irro*tulatus* *per* Joha*nn*em Hanbye John baker P * * * North Rich. Southwell[1].

[1] R. O. Particulars for grants 36 Hen. 8. W^m Hodges. These long extracts, though not forming a complete series, will serve to

V.

Index of those 'particulars for grants' relating to Somerset which are to be found in the Record Office.

The particulars for grants have been calendared under the names of the would be grantees in Appendix II. to the 9th Report and Appendix II. to the 10th Report of the Deputy Keeper of public records. It will probably assist any who may be searching for documents concerning any particular place to have them rearranged under the respective houses. That at all events is the only excuse for the index appearing here.

ATHELNEY.

Torrels Preston, farm of the manor of. Request to purchase. John Charles, and Richard Parker, 12 Mar. 37 Hen. 8.

Site and Demesnes, farm of. Request to purchase. John Cleyton, 36 Hen. 8.

Lynge, farm of the manor, exchange with John Leigh, 15 June, 35 Hen. 8.

Polden, Stowell, Holywell, Cunwyche, Stokegursy, Petherton marsh, farms in; Common of Pasture on Saltehaye; farms in Holforde, in Combeflory and Holforde in Bagbowe. Request to purchase. William Banfelde, 37 Hen. 8.

show on the one hand how extensive and varied were the holdings of the religious houses, and on the other how much one family was prepared to bid for. This is rather a short example than otherwise.

Hampe, Mayor and Corporation of Bristol, no date.

Claveshaye, in the parish of Northpetherton, farm of the manor of. Request to purchase. William Porteman, Samuel Law, and Alexander Popham, 6 July, 36 Hen. 8.

Bridgewater, rents in. Request to purchase. John Smyth, 27 Ap. 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Caundle Purse (Dors.), farm of the manor of. Request to purchase. Lord Stourton, 20 Feb. 36 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Michells borough and Lamporte, rents in. Request to purchase. Robert Thornhill and Hugh Thornhill, 26 June, 38 Hen. 8. (Woods also.)

BARLYNCH.

Hulfraunce, farm of the manor of. Request to purchase. Also farm of the rectories of Upton and Bittescomb. John Charles, and Richard Parker, 12 Mar. 37 Hen. 8.

Certain woods the property of the convent. No request. Humphrey Colles.

Cathanger, rent in. Request to purchase. Sir Arthur Darcy, kt., 2 July, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Upton and Byttescombe, farm of the rectories of. Request to purchase. Thomas Goodwyn, 19 Sep. 36 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Wynford, farms in. Request to purchase. Sir Richard Graynfeld, 27 July, 38 Hen. 8.

Broforde and Hilfraunce, farm of the rectory of. Right to purchase. Richard Parker of Tavistock, Devon, 6 July, 35 Hen. 8.

Morebath, farm of the rectory. Request to purchase. George Rolle, Esq., of Stevynston, and George Heydon, of St Mary Ottery, Gent.

Vexford and Cathangher in the parish of Stogurcy, rents in. Request to purchase. William Lord Stourtone, 7 July, 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

BATH.

Bridgehampton Ivelton, rents in; lands and woods in Ivelton. Request to purchase. George Acworth, Esq., and Edward Butler, Gent., 37 Hen. 8.

Bristol, farms in. Request to purchase. Henry Brayne, 8 July, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Woods of the Abbey. No request. Humphrey Colles.

Site, farm of the. Request to purchase. Sir Arthur Darcy, kt., 2 July, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Barton, farm of the Hundred of. Exchange to the Earl of Hertford.

Asshewyke or Ilwyke. No request. Thomas Horner, 11 Feb. 31 Hen. 8.

Eston and Katerin, farm of the manors of. No request. John Malt, 8 Sep. 38 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Batheston, farm of the Rectory of. No date. No request. Oxford.

Ingliscomb. No request. Lord Russell, 30 May, 36 Hen. 8, sec. 8.

Olneston (Glos.), farm of the manor of. Request to have in exchange. Sir Ralfe Sadleyr, P.C., 10 Dec. 38 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Bristol, rents in. Request to purchase. John Smyth, 27 Ap. 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Longraysheton rectory, farm of manor of Aysheton Meriett in the same parish. Request to purchase. John Smythe of Bristol, merchant, 8 June, 38 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Wydcombe and Lydcombe, lands in. Exchanged to Sir John St Leger, kt., 34 Hen. 8. No request.

Dunster, woods. No request. Humphrey Colles.

Dunster Site and Demesne, farm of. Request to purchase. Sir Arthur Darcy, kt., 2 July, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

MYNCHIN BARROW.

Bristol, farms in. Request to purchase. Henry Brayne, 8 July, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Site and demesne lands, farm of. Request to purchase, with the manor and parsonage. William Clerk, March, 35 Hen. 8.

Swyverton, farm of rectory. Exchanged to Sir Thomas Heneage, kt., — Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Mynchin Barrow, farm of manor. No request. No date. — Williams.

BRIDGEWATER ST JOHN'S.

Northover: farm of the manor, with lands in Kington and Charleton. Exchanged to John Leigh, 15 June, 35 Hen. 8.

London: farm in the parish of St John the Baptist, Fleet Street, London. Thomas Bocher. No request. 1 Aug. 36 Hen. 8.

Ilbruers, rents in the parish. Request to purchase. James Bowreman of Hemeck, 5 Feb. 36 Hen. 8.

Woods, belonging to the House. No request. Humphrey Colles.

Site, farm of. Sir Arthur Darcy, 2 July, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Rysmore, farm in. Request to purchase. Sir John Fulforde, kt., and Humphrey Cooles, 12 Mar. 35 Hen. 8.

More Winslow, rectory of. Request to purchase. Sir Richard Graynfeld, 27 July, 27 Hen. 8.

Bridgewater, rents in the town of. Request to pur-

chase. Wm. Hodges, senior and junior, 24 Feb. 36 Hen. 8.

Gotehurst and Charlynch, farms in. Request to purchase. Alexander Popham and William Hally, 13 Dec. 36 Hen. 8.

Durleigh, Gotehurste, Northpetherton and Bridgewater, farms in. Request to purchase. Wm. Porteman and Alexander Popham, 6 July, 36 Hen. 8.

Bridgewater, rents in, and farm of the manor of Durleighe, &c. Request to purchase. John Smyth, 27 Ap. 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Bovy Tracye, rents in. Request to purchase. John Tregonwell and John Southcot, 25 Oct. 36 Hen. 8.

BRUTON.

Site, farm of, with rectory of Newton, Manor of North Bruham, and rents in Horssely and Southbruham. Request to purchase. Sir Maurice Barkeley, 37 Hen. 8.

Brutton, rents in, rectory of Charlton Adamp. Request to purchase. John Bellow and John Broxholme, 10 June, 38 Hen. 8, sec. 4.

Rongton, Manor of. Request to purchase. Thos. Bowyer, citizen and grocer, of London, 18 Mar. 35 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Churchill, farms in, parcell of Manor of Bamwell (Som.). Request to purchase. Richard Buckland, Robert Horner and John Bysse, 25 Aug. 36 Hen. 8.

Sterte, farm of the Manor of. Request to purchase. John Gilbert of Som^{t}, 8 Feb. 36 Hen. 8.

Stony Eston, the farm of the Manor of. Rents in Horwood (Wincalton), Southbruham and in Byckewicke. No request. No date. Hyppeley.

Holcomb and Stainton Prior rectory. Farms in Predy, Westharptre and Estharptre. No request. Thos. Horner, rents in Ashwitte alias Carsclyff and Preda, 11 Feb. 31 Hen. 8.

Westbury (Som.), rents in. Request to purchase. John Malt, 7 May, 36 Hen. 8.

BUCKLAND.

Site, farm of, with the rectory of Myhil Clunthe. Request to purchase. Wm. Earl of Essex, 11 Mar. 35 Hen. 8.

North Petherton, farm of, parcel of the Manor. Request to purchase. Sir John Fulford, kt., and Humphrey Cooles, 12 March, 35 Hen. 8.

Chilcomb, Lordship or Manor of. Request to purchase. 8 Nov. 36 Hen. 8. John Hyde, Esq., and William Busshopp, yeoman.

Wells, rents in. Request to purchase. William Hodges, Sr. and Jr., 24 Feb. 36 Hen. 8.

Primsley (Dors.), farm of Manor of. Request to purchase. Sir John Horsey, kt., 5 June, 35 Hen. 8.

Moremalherbe, farm of manor. Request to purchase. Richard Parker of Tavistock, Devon, 6 July, 35 Hen. 8.

North Petherton, farm of the manor of. Rents in Aysshe and Thornsawcon. Request to purchase. William Porteman, Serjeant at Law, and Alex Popham, 6 July, 36 Hen. 8, and farms in Goston, in parish of Westmonkton.

Toller, farm of manor of. Rectory of Toller and Wynforde, Sumweys al Samwise John. No request. 23 Feb. 31 Hen. 8.

Brompton Ruffe, farm in Manor. Robert Taverner, 10 July, 36 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

CANYNGTON.

Blakedon. Request to purchase. Richard Androys, 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Bristol, farms in. Request to purchase. Henry Brayne, 8 July, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Skylgate and Brushford, rents in. Request to purchase. David Clayton, 10 Oct. 36 Hen. 8.

Woods. No request. Humphrey Colles.

Godlegh (Dev.), rents in. Request to purchase. Sir Arthur Darcy, kt., 37 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Wytherigge (Dev.) Request to purchase. George Haydon, gent., and Hugh Stuckey, Esq., 12 Mar. 35 Hen. 8.

Bradford (Dors.), rent in. No request. Sir John Horsey, kt., 27 Feb. 31 Hen. 8.

Pudelwalston (Dors.), rent of the free chapel of. Request to purchase. Edward Rogers, 16 June, 37 Hen. 8.

Bradford, farms in. No request. No date. Sir John Horsey, Alderman Bundle.

CLEEVE.

Bristol, farms in. Request to purchase. Henry Brayne, 8 July, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Wallworthye, rents in. Request to purchase. Sir John Fulforde, kt., and Humphrey Cooles, 12 March, 35 Hen. 8.

Petzbagborowe, rents in Bishops Lydeard. Request to purchase. Thomas Hill, 14 Aug. 36 Hen. 8.

Withycombe, rent in. Request to exchange. The Earl of Oxford.

TEMPLECOMBE.

Willyton, farm of the manor of. Exchanged to John Leigh, 15 June, 35 Hen. 8.

Compton, farm in. Request to purchase. Richard Morgan and Robert Long, citizen and mercer of London, 16 May, 37 Hen. 8.

Clehanger Rectory and farm of the manor of. Request to purchase. Alexander Popham and William Halley, 13 Dec. 36 Hen. 8.

Preceptory, parcel of the. No request. William Sharyngton al. Sheryngton, Esq., 10 Oct. 34 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Bristol, manor of Templefee. Request to purchase. Mayor and Commonality of Bristol, 30 June, 36 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Draycott, farms in, and farms in Stony Stoke and Shapton Montague. Request to purchase. John Broxholme and John Bellow, 30 Sep. 37 Hen. 8.

Shepton Mallet, Blakoon, Worle, Babyngton. Request to purchase. James Bysse, Mar. 35 Hen. 8.

Westcombelond, farm of the manor of. Request to purchase. William Chaplyn, John Selwood, 1 Mar. 36 Hen. 8.

GLASTONBURY.

Batcombe, manor of, also hamlets of Fermecombe, Prestley, and Stoke in the Manor of Dultyng. Request to purchase. James Bysse, Mar. 35 Hen. 8.

Wrington, Manor of. Request to purchase. Sir H. Capell, kt., 9 Nov. 38 Hen. 8.

Aysshbury (Berks.), farm of the manor of, and of the manor of Bradbury. Request to exchange for. Sir William and Sir Thomas Essex, kts., 13 Mar. 34 Hen. 8.

Gratlyngton, rectory, rents and farms in. Request to purchase. Giles Gore, 6 Ap. 35 Hen. 8.

Winterborne Moneton, farm of the manor of. Exchanged to the Earl of Hertford.

Dychesiat, farm of the manor of. Request to purchase. Sir Raffe Hopton and Dorothea his Wife, 8 Sep. 38 Hen. 8.

Mellis Rectory, and Chapel of Ley annexed, farm of the Manor of Mellis with Lye, lands and tenements in Melles and Lye, manor and rectory of Nonney, farm called Lynde in Yewell. Request to purchase. Thomas and John Horner, 22 May, 35 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Andressey al. Nyland, farm of the manor of. Request to purchase. John Malt, 7 May, 36 Hen. 8, sec. 2. Also rectory of Podimore Milton, manor of Poddimore milton, farm of the manor of Doultyng, farm of the hamlet of Stoke.

London, farm of capital mansion with lands and tenements belonging to the same. Request to purchase. David Marten, 27 June, 35 Hen. 8.

Cristmalford (Wilts.). Request to exchange. The Earl of Oxford, 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Estmonkton (Wilts.), farm of the manor of. Also that of Kington. No request. No date. Edward, Earl of Oxford.

Kyngton (Wilts.), farm of the manor of. Request to purchase. Nicholas Snell, gent., 16 Feb. 35 Hen. 8.

Bristol, farm in the parish of St Stephen. Request to purchase. Richard and Roger Taverner, 28 Aug. 36 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Lottesham, farms within. Request to purchase. William Goodyng al. Goodwyn, 29 Sep. 36 Hen. 8.

HINTON.

Freshford Manor. Richard Andrewes, 33 Hen. 8.

Palhill, pasture of. Request to purchase. Richard Androys, 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Site. Request to purchase. John Bartlett alias Sancocke, and Robert Bartlatt, 28 May, 37 Hen. 8.

Bristol, farms in. Request to purchase. Henry Brayne, 8 July, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Peglynche, Manor of, with hamlets of Shewescombe, Whittockesmede and Eckewyke in Wellow, other lands in Wellow. Request to purchase. Richard Buckland, Robert Horner, and John Bysse, 25 Aug. 36 Hen. 8.

Mendip, rents in and upon, in parish of Wells. Request to purchase. James Coffyn and Thomas Godwyn, 16 Aug. 37 Hen. 8.

Rents in Lullington, Bekington, Loneleate, Oforde, Barmyster, Lodeford, Deverell, Longebrigge, Hyldeverell, Hornyngesham, Stourton, Upton Noble. Exchanged to the Earl of Hertford, 28 Jan. 32 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Longleate, farm of a capital messuage. No request. Sir John Horsey, 31 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Hillington, rent of manor. Lands in Bekington and in Longleate and the Rectory there. Request to purchase. Robert Keylewaye, gentleman of the Temple in London, 2 Aug. 38 Hen. 8.

Henton, farm of priory and possessions, in exchange to Sir Thomas Wyatt. No request. 32 Hen. 8.

Longlete, farm in. No request. No date. Sir John Horsey.

ILCHESTER.

Farm of the priory. Request to purchase. William Hodges, Sr. and Jr., 24 Feb. 36 Hen. 8.

KEYNSHAM.

Wyngfelde and Stoweford, with woods. Richard Andrewes, 33 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Leighton, manor of, and rectory of Clofforde. Sir Thomas Arundell, 36 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Bristol, farms in. Request to purchase. Henry Brayne, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Burford, farm of rectory. Request to purchase. Edmund Harman, 28 Ap. 37 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Eltham, rent of rectory. Request to purchase. Walter Hendle, 4 July, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Marshfield (Glos.), farm of manor, exchanged to Sir Thomas Heneage, kt., — Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Compton Dando, rents and farms in, and farm of rectory of Lytylton. No request. No date. — Hyppelley.

West Harptre, farms in, and in Blackwell and Holcomb. No request. Thomas Horner, 11 Feb. 31 Hen. 8.

Camberwell, farm in the parish of. Request to purchase. Sir Thomas Pope, kt., 28 May, 36 Hen. 8, sec. 6.

Hinton, rents in parish of. Request to purchase. Edmund Walter, 13 June, 36 Hen. 8.

MONTACUTE.

Tyntenull, rectory, woods of the priory. Request to purchase. George Acworth, Esquire, and Edward Butler, gentleman, 37 Hen. 8.

Bridge (Dors.). Richard Andrewez, 33 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Gillingham, rent in parish of. No request. William Barnes, Walter Farre and William Glasscock, 31 Hen. 8.

Worthe, Awefleton and Langton (Dors.). William

Beryffe of Colchester, cloth maker, John Multon, gentleman. Request to purchase. 20 Mar. 36 Hen. 8.

Muxkulome, rents in. Roger Bluette. No request. 24 Feb. 31 Hen. 8.

Cell of St Karoch and Manor of Gonan. Request to purchase. Lawrence Courtenay, 26 Aug. 37 Hen. 8.

Carswell, Cell of (Dev.). Request to purchase. John Erderisshe, 8 June, 38 Hen. 8.

Nynehedd, farm in the manor of. Woods and rents in Hyde in the manor of Moncton. Request to purchase. William Eyer of Warminster, 25 Nov. 36 Hen. 8.

Monkleigh and Little Torryngton, farm of the manors of. Request to purchase. Sir John Fulforde and Humphrey Cooles, 12 Mar. 35 Hen. 8.

Cadbury, rents in. Request to purchase. John Gilbert of Somerset, 8 Feb. 36 Hen. 8.

Warneford, farms in. By exchange. William Gooffyn, May, 36 Hen. 8.

East Chinnock and Closworth, farm of the manors of. Request to exchange. Richard Morrison, 13 July, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 4.

Stoke (Dors.), farm in, parcel of Cell of Holme. Request to purchase. John Tregonwell and John Southcot, 25 Oct. 36 Hen. 8.

Montacute, farm of Site, with possessions and woods. No request. Exchange to Sir Thomas Wyatt, 32 Hen. 8.

TAUNTON.

Esse, farm of the manor. Exchange to John Leigh, 15 June, 35 Hen. 8.

Priors Blackdon, woods of the manor. Richard Andrewez, 33 Hen. 8.

Bromyscote, rent in. No request. Roger Bluette, 24 Feb. 31 Hen. 8.

Taunton, Canon Street, Middle Street and St James's Street, in the parish of St Mary Magdalen, St James and West Monkton. Request to purchase. William Chaplyn and John Selwood, 1 Mar. 36 Hen. 8.

Wythiell, rents in the parish. Request to purchase. John Charles and Richard Parker, 12 Mar. 37 Hen. 8.

Lincote in the parish of Stoke Perrowe and in Wesheforde in the parish of Oldclyff, rents in. Request to purchase. David Clayton, 10 Oct. 36 Hen. 8.

Woods. No request. Humphrey Colles.

Beston, farm of, with rectory and chapel of Pytmyster and Corff and rectory of Trull. Request to purchase. Sir Arthur Darcey, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Taunton, farms in, and in the suburbs, and rents in the parish of St James. Request to purchase. Thomas Goodwyn, 19 Sep. 36 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Otterford, farm of the rectory. Request to purchase. Sir Richard Graynfeld, 27 July, 38 Hen. 8.

Fons Georgii in Wilton parish, rent of manor and parcel of the manor of Tonbridge in Kingeston. Request to purchase. Thomas Hill, 14 Aug. 36 Hen. 8.

Batcombe, rents in. Request to purchase. Thomas and John Horner, 22 May, 30 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Hilton and Hawkechurche, woods in the manors and farm of the manor of Esse. Exchange to John Leigh, 15 June, 35 Hen. 8.

Willond (Dev.), farm of the Lordship, rectory, and all farms in Willond. Request to purchase. Christopher Litcott, 14 Mar. 36 Hen. 8.

Taunton, farm of Site. Request to purchase. Thomas Onslowe, citizen and grocer of London, 26 June, 37 Hen. 8.

Dulverton and Willond, farms of the manors of, farm of Staffordell and rents in Dulverton and Withill Lucott. Request to exchange. The Earl of Oxford, 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Pixton, farm of the manor of. Request to purchase. Richard Parker of Tavystock, Devon, 6 July, 35 Hen. 8.

Northpetherton, farm in, and parcel of the Manor of Thurlexton. Request to purchase. Alexander Popham and William Halley. Also farms of Thurlebare and Tobridge.

Bromefield and Kingeshill, farms in. Request to purchase. William Porteman, Sergeant at Law, and Alexander Popham, 6 July, 36 Hen. 8.

Gauldon, farm of the manor of, in the parish of Tolland. Request to purchase. William Standishe, gentleman, 29 Jan. 36 Hen. 8.

Wincaulton, Barowe and Roundehill, rents and farms in, and farm of the rectory of Wincaulton. Request to purchase. William, Lord Stourton, 7 July, 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

WITHAM.

Chilternvagge, farm in, and in Donmere. Exchange to John Leigh, 15 June, 35 Hen. 8.

Ozilstoke, rents in. Richard Andrewez, 33 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Tysbury, Fountell, Gyfforde, &c., farms in. Richard Andrewez, 33 Hen. 8, sec. 3.

Bristol, farms in. Request to purchase. Henry Brayne, 37 Hen. 8, sec. 2.

Newebury (Berks.), rents in. Request to purchase. Richard and Sir John Brydgis, 13 June, 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Bristol, rents in. Request to purchase. Mayor and Commonality of Bristol, 30 June, 36 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Hyden, farm of the tenths of the Manor of. Request to purchase. David Clayton, 10 Oct. 36 Hen. 8.

Frary, farm in the parish of. Request to purchase. David Clayton, 10 Oct. 36 Hen. 8.

Witham, farm of the manor and rectory. No request. Rafe Hopton, 20 Nov. 35 Hen. 8.

Lequarre, Grange called, in the parish of Frary. Request to have in gift. Sir Raff Hopton, 21 Oct. 37 Hen. 8.

Hyden, farm of the manor. Request to purchase. Robert Maye, 1 July, 36 Hen. 8.

Westbarow Grange, farm of, farm of Holtewood, lands in Witham. Request to exchange. The Earl of Oxford, 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Witham Charterhouse, farm of parcel of possessions of. No request. No date. The Earl of Oxford.

Warmington (Warwick), farm of the manor of, with pension to the rectors of Warmington and Wylley. No request. William and Francis Sheldon, 26 June, 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

Monkesham, farm of the manor of. Request to purchase. William, Lord Stourton, 7 July, 35 Hen. 8, sec. 1.

VI. A Grant on the Patent Roll.

Rex omnibus ad quos &c salutem Sciatis quod nos pro summa centum octoginta duarum librarum & quindecem solidorum legalis monete Anglie ad manus Thesaurarii nostri curie nostre Augmentacionum reuencionum corone nostre per Johannem Clayton alias Clutton generosum ad usum nostrum persoluta de qua quidem omnia fatemur nos plenarie esse satisfactos & persolutos eundemque Johannem heredes executores & administratores suos inde esse acquietatos & exoneratos per presentes de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia & mero motu nostris dedimus & concessimus ac per presentes damus & concedimus prefato Johanni Clayton alias Clutton totum illud scitum septum circuitum ambitum & precinctum nuper monasterii de Athelney in comitatu nostro somerset cum suis iuribus & pertinenciis vniuersis modo vel nuper in tenura siue occupacione cuiusdam Johannis Tutchett militis domini Audeley vel assignatorum suorum ac omnia & singula domos edificia ortos pomaria gardina stabula columbarias stagna vinaria aquas piscarias piscaciones terram & solum nostra infra predictum scitum dicti nuper monasterii existentia Ac eciam omnia & singula mesuagia terras tenementa pascuas pasturas redditus reuerciones seruicia communias ac

pro Johanne Clayton de concessione sibi & heredibus.

cetera hereditamenta nostra quecumque (*sic*) descriptionis iacentia & existentia in parochia de ling saynct michell borowe et alibi in dicto comitatu nostro somerset videlicet omnia illa terras tenementa prata pascua pasturas redditus reuerciones seruicia communias & cetera hereditamenta nostra quecumque cognita seu vocata per nomen seu per nomina de le Hand' mille mede long meade subtus le orchard littell meade longmead clynesmeade & brandesmead ac duo illa prata nostra cum pertinenciis in orientali parte de la dreue & vnum pratum nostrum vocatum brodemead Ac vnam clausam iuxta brode mead duas pasturas in boriali parte de le dreue vocati hyculer vnam clausam in occidentali parte de hiculer vnam clausam prati in occidentali parte de le dreve predicti duo clausas vocatas colyns lease vnam clausam prati vocatam pypesmore ac duo le willowbers cum earum pertinenciis vniuersis necnon omnia & singula alia terras tenementa prata pascuas pasturas redditus reuerciones seruicia communias ac cetera hereditamenta nostra quecumque cum eorum pertinenciis vniuersis cognita per nomen seu per nomina de les demesne lands dicti nuper monasterii de Athelney & cum predicto scitu dicti nuper monasterii prefato Johanni Tutchett vel aliis dimissa seu locata existentia que quidem (*sic*) messuagia terre tenementa & cetera premissa cum eorum pertinenciis vniuersis dicto nuper monasterio de Athelney dudum spectabant & pertinebant ac parcella possessionum & reuencionum eiusdem nuper monasterii extiterunt Damus necnon pro consideracione predicta ac ex certa sciencia & mero motu nostris per presentes concedimus pre-

fato Johanni Clayton alias Clutton reuersionem & reuersiones predicti scitus messuagiorum terrarum omnium singulorum premissorum cum eorum pertinenciis vniuersis Ac omnes & singulos redditus reuenciones & cetera annualia proficua quecumque super quibuscumque dimissionibus seu concessionibus premissorum aut alicuius inde parcellae factis reseruatis Ac omnes & singulos boscos subboscos & arbores nostras quoscumque de in vel super premissis aut aliqua inde parcella crescentes siue existentes Ac vlterius damus pro consideracione predicta ac ex certa sciencia & mero motu nostris per presentes concedimus prefato Johanni Clayton alias Johanni Clutton predictum scitum dicti nuper monasterii ac omnia & singula domos edificia mesuagia terras tenementa ac cetera omnia & singula premissa cum eorum pertinenciis vniuersis adeo plene & integre ac in tam amplissimo modo & forma prout vltimus Abbas dicti nuper monasterii de Athelney aut aliquis vel aliqui predecessorum suorum in iure nuper monasterii illius aliquo tempore ante dissolucionem suppressionem siue sursum reddicionem eiusdem nuper monasterii vel antiquum nuper monasterium illud ad manus nostras deuenit predicta scitum mesuagia terras tenementa ac cetera premissa aut aliquam inde parcellam habuit tenuit vel gauisus fuit habuerunt tenuerunt vel gauisi fuerunt seu habere tenere vel gaudere debuerunt aut debuit et adeo plene & integre ac in tam amplissimo modo & forma prout ea omnia & singula ad manus racione vel pretextu dissolucionis suppressionis siue sursum redicionis dicti nuper monasterii aut racione vel pretextu

alicuius carte dominі concessionis vel confirmacionis vel sursum reddicionis predictum nuper Abbatem nuper conuentum dicti nuper monasterii sub sigillo suo conventuali notis inde confecta aut racione vel pretextu alicuius acti parleamenti aut aliter quocumque modo deuenerunt seu deuenere debuerunt ac in manibus nostris iam existunt seu existere debent vel deberent Quequidem scitus mesuagia terre tenementa & cetera premissa cum suis pertinentibus extendunt ad clarum annui valorem decem librarum duorum solidorum sex denariorum decima inde non deducta Habendum tenendum & gaudendum predictum scitum dicti nuper monasterii ac predicta domos messuagia edificia ortos pomaria gardina terras tenementa prata pascua pasturas redditus reuersiones seruicia communias & cetera omnia & singula premissa cum eorum pertinenciis vniuersis prefato Johanni Clayton alias dicto Johanni Clutton heredibus assignatis suis in perpetuum Tenendum de nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris in capite per seruicia quadragesime partis unius feodi militis Ac reddendum inde annuatim nobis heredibus successoribus nostris viginti solidos & tres denarios legalis monete Anglie ad dictam curiam nostram Augmentacionum reuencionum corone nostre ad festum sancti michaelis Archangeli singulis annis soluendum nomine decime & decime partis inde pro omnibus aliis redditibus seruiciis & demandationibus quibuscumque proinde nobis heredibus vel successoribus nostris quoquo modo reddendum soluendum vel faciendum Ac vlterius volumus pro consideracione predicta ac ex certa sciencia & mero motu nostris pro nobis heredibus & successori-

bus nostris per presentes concedimus prefato Johanni Clayton alias Clutton heredibus & assignatis suis quod iidem Johannes heredes & assignati sui habebunt tenebunt & gaudebunt ac habere tenere & gaudere valeant & possint infra predictum scitum dicti nuper monasterii de Athelney & cetera premissa & infra quilibet (*sic*) inde parcellam tot talia & tanta eadem huiusmodi & consimilia curias letas visus ffranci plegii ac omnia que ad visum ffranciplegii pertinent seu impostum spectare possunt aut debent fines amerciamenta liberas warennas ac omnia que ad liberam warennam pertinent bona & catalla waiuiata bona & catalla felonum fugitiuorum exchuriis proficua commoditates libertates emolumenta & hereditamenta quecumque quot qualia quanta & que dictus nuper Abbas dicti nuper monasterii aut aliquis vel aliqui predecessorum suorum nuper monasterii illius aliquo tempore ante dissolucionem suppressionem siue sursum reddicionem eiusdem nuper monasterii uel antiquum nuper monasteriu̇m illud ad manus nostras deuenit habuit tenuit vel gauisus fuit habuerunt tenuerunt vel gauisi fuerunt seu habere tenere vel gaudere debuerunt aut debuit in predictis scitu mesuagio terris tenementis & ceteris premissis aut in aliqua inde parcella racione vel pretextu alicuius carte doni concessionis vel confirmacionis aut aliquarum literarum patentium per nos seu per aliquem progenitorum nostrorum prefato nuper Abbati & conventui dicti nuper monasterii aut alicui seu aliquibus predecessorum suorum quocumque modo factarum vel concessarum aut racione vel pretextu alicuius prescripcionis vsus seu consuetudinis

aut alit*er* quocumq*ue* modo Ac eciam volum*us* p*ro* consideracio*ne* p*re*dicta ac ex ce*r*ta sciencia & mero motu no*str*is p*ro* nob*is* hered*ibus* & successorib*us* no*str*is * * * * p*er* presentes concedim*us* p*re*fato Joh*ann*i Clayton al*ias* Clutton hered*ibus* & assign*atis* suis q*uo*d nos hered*es* & successores no*str*i in p*er*petu*um* annuatim & de tempore in tempus acquietabim*us* exone*r*abim*us* & indempnes conse*r*uabim*us* tam eundem Joh*ann*em hered*es* & assign*atos* suos q*uam* p*re*dict*um* scit*um* mesuag*ia* domos edificia t*er*ras tene*menta* & cete*r*a omnia & singula p*re*missa cum eo*rum* p*er*tinenc*iis* vniu*er*si vsus nos hered*es* & successores no*str*os & vsas quascumq*ue* alias p*er*sonas & aliam p*er*sonam quicumq*ue* de om*n*ib*us* & omni*m*odo corrodis redit*ibus* feod*is* annuitatib*us* denar*ii* sum*m*is quibuscumq*ue* de p*re*missis seu aliqua inde parcell*a* quoquomodo exeund*is* seu soluend*is* vel sup*er* inde one*r*at*is* seu one*r*and*is* p*rae*terqu*am* de reddit*ibus* & se*r*uic*iis* nob*is* here-d*ibus* & successorib*us* no*str*is p*er* p*re*sentes sup*er*ius reseruat*is* ac p*rae*terqu*am* de om*n*ib*us* & omni*m*odo aliis reddit*ibus* feod*is* annuitatib*us* om*n*ib*us* & denar*ii* sum*m*is quibuscumq*ue* que firmarius dicti scit*us* & cete*r*o*rum* p*re*misso*rum* racio*ne* Indenture & dimis-sio*nis* inde ei confect*a* tenet*ur* solue*r*e aut quoquo modo exone*r*are volentes insup*er* p*er* p*re*sentes firmita-t*em* iniungendo p*er*cipientes tam cancellar*io* & consilio no*str*o dicte cur*ie* no*str*e Augmentacionu*m* corone no*str*e p*ro* tempore existent*ibus* hered*um* successo*rum* no*str*o*rum* qu*am* om*n*ib*us* & singulis Auditorib*us* Receptorib*us* ac aliis officiar*iis* & ministris no*str*is quibuscumq*ue* hered*um* & successo*rum* no*str*o*rum*

pro tempore existentibus quod ipsi & eorum quilibet super solam demonstracionem literarum nostrarum patentium aut super errotulamentum earundem absque aliquo alio literi (*sic*) seu warranto a nobis heredibus vel successoribus nostris quoquo modo impetrando obtinendo seu prosequendo super solucione dicti annui redditus nobis per presentes superius reseruati pleniam integram debitamque allocacionem defalcacionem deductionem & exoneracionem manifestam prefato Johanni Clayton alias dicto Clutton heredibus & assignatis suis de omnibus & omnimodo huiusmodi corrodiis redditibus feodis Annuitatibus & denarii summis quibuscumque de premissis seu de aliqua inde parcella vt prefertur exeundis seu soluendis vel super inde oneratur seu onerandis (exceptis preexceptis) facient & fieri causabunt et he litere nostre patentes aut irrotulamenta earumdem erunt annuatim & de tempore in tempus tam dicto cancellario & consilio nostro dicte curie nostre Augmentacionum reuencionum corone nostre pro tempore existente heredum & successorum nostrorum quam omnibus & singulis predictis Receptoribus Auditoribus & aliis officiariis & ministris nostris quibuscumque heredum & successorum nostrorum sufficiens warrantum & exoneracio in hac parte Et vlterius damus pro consideracione predicta ac ex certa sciencia & mero motu nostris per presentes concedimus prefato Johanni Clayton alias Clutton omnia & singula exitus redditus reuenciones & proficua predictorum scitus mesuagii terrarum tenementorum & ceterorum omnium & singulorum premissorum cum eorum pertinenciis vniuersis a festo

Annunciacionis beate marie Virginis vltimo preterito huiusque prouentus omne crescens habenda eidem Johanni ex dono nostro absque compoto de aliquo alio perinde nobis heredibus vel successoribus nostris quoquo modo reddendo soluendo vel faciendo Ac eciam volumus pro consideracione predicta ac ex certa sciencia & mero motu nostris per presentes concedimus prefato Johanni Clayton alias dicto Clutton quod habeat & habebit has literas nostras patentes sub magno sigillo nostro Angliae concedimus debito modo factas & sigillatas absque fine seu feodo magno vel paruo nobis in hanaperio nostro seu alibi ad vsum nostrum quoquo modo redendas soluendas vel faciendas eo quod expressa mencio &c. In cuius rei &c. Palatina Angliae regina ac generali Rectrice eiusdem apud Hampton Courte xvij die Augusti Anni regni uicesimo sexto[1].

VII. Inventory.

The housses of ffreres lately given vp whiche haue any substance of leayde.

The grey freres in brigwater oon pane of the cloyster ij grete gutters bitwen the church & the batilment diuerse grete spowtes on bothe sides of the church w^t^ an oryall in a chamber all leaded[2].

[1] R. O. Patent Roll, 36 Hen. VIII. part 9, Memb. 41.

R. O. Chapter Ho. Bks. Vol. $A_{\frac{3}{11}}$.

VIII. Inventory.

The grey freeres of brygewatter

Thys Indentur makeythe mencyon of all ye stuffe of ye grey freeres of brygewatter receyued by ye lord vysytor vnder ye lord prevy seale for ye kynges grace & delyueryd to John newport mayer ther & Rycherd torell to se and order to ye kynges vse wth ye howse & all ye pertenans tyll ye kynges plesure be forder knowyn

The quire

In primis a tabull of alybaster wth ix ymages
Item on ye autre iij autre clothes
Item ij godely candelstekes before ye autre
Item a payer of organs
Item a lampe bason & a nother lampe
Item a holywater stope letten[1]
Item a grate of yeorn[2] a bowte a tombe
Item a lecterne yeorn & a sacry bell

The Chyrche

Item iij clothes before ye autre
Item a frame of yeorn abowt a tombe
Item an old coffer
Item a chappell wth a frame barryd wth yeron

The Sextre

Item a cope of red veluet Inbroderyd wth flowers wth offeras clothe of golde

Item a cope of saten inbroderyd wth offeras ymachery

[1] Leaden. [2] Iron.

Item a cope of sylke red & grene

Item ij copes of chaungeable sylke y^e^ one inbroderyd y^e^ other blewe veluett w^th^ starres of golde

Item a whyte cope damaske w^th^ sprede egylles y^e^ offeras red damaske w^th^ agelles of golde

Item a nother whyte cope damaske w^th^ floweres of golde y^e^ offeras red veluet w^th^ ymagery

Item a cope of sylke w^th^ y^e^ offeras blewe veluett

Item a nother cope sylke w^th^ floweres y^e^ offeras chasytit w^th^ ymages

Item iij copes sylke w^th^ dyuerse offeras

Item a cope of blewe sylke y^e^ offeras red veluet

Item a cope chaungeable sylke y^e^ offeras red veluet

Item a blewe cope w^th^ stares y^e^ offeras red veluet

Item ij copys of clothe stenyd

Item ij copes of red sylke

Item an old blacke cope rent

Item an nother old cope

Vestementes

Item a suite of whyte sylkes pryst decon & subdeacon

Item iiij old tenacles[1]

Item vij old chesabulles

Item a cheste for copys lockyd

Item a presse for vestementes

Item a lytyll tabull

Item a frame for y^e^ pascall

Item certen old stallys

Item a borde vnder y^e^ sete

[1] Tunicles.

The 2de howse

Item a sute of whyte damaske wth flowers of golde

Item a sute of whyte lackyng iij ames

Item a nother sute of blewe not leke

Item a sute of blewe sylke wth starrs of golde

Item a sute of branchyd sylke y^{e} offeras blewe wth starres of golde

Item a sute of blacke sylke wth dyuerse offeras

Item a sute of grene sylke

Item a sute of blewe sylke wth swannys

Item a syngyll westement blewe wth starres golde

Item a vestement red sylke lackyng ames

Item a vestement black sylke

Item a horse clothe bokeram

Item ij palles sylke

Item iiij sylkes for y^{e} patens or chales

Item iiij curtens sylke

Item ij pere crosse clothes

Item a carpet to lay before y^{e} autre

Item a lytyll red pawle & a towell

Item iij clothes to hange before y^{e} autre

Item ij lytyll cuschynges

Item vij clothes for y^{e} prystes stall & y^{e} chantre stolys

Item a frynge for y^{e} autre

Item a clothe to hange before y^{e} rode

Item iiij old chestes & iij cofferes

Item v corporasseys wth ther casseys on sylke

The chambers

Item ij payer of blanketes

Item on pare couering w^th^ pore hangynges
Item a cowntre
Item iij chayers
Item a cupbord
Item iij coffores
Item ij aundyerndes

The Fratre

Item vij old tabulles
Item iiij ledderes & a cupbord

The kechyn

Item a coper in a fornes
Item ij brochys
Item ij aundyerynges
Item a payer of pothokes
Item a grett barre of yeron w^th^ a hengell
Item ix platterres pewtre
Item vj dyshys
Item ij saucres w^th^ ij potyngeres
Item a treuet
Item ij fattes to brew in sold to by lockes

The buttre

Item ij tabull clothes
Item one towell
Item a salt of pewtre nowt

Memorandum wher y^e^ dettes of y^e^ howse drew a boute xviij or xix^li^ y^e^ vysytor hathe delyueryd an old sute of vestementes w^th^ y^e^ cope and other small thynges to y^e^ wardeyn & y^e^ warden hathe vndertaken to dyscharge all dettes and y^e^ vysytor hath w^th^ hym to y^e^ kynges vse In Juelles & plate to y^e^ sum of xvij

vnc' and xviij vnc' and also hathe sold ij old federbeddes and ij small pottes and one panne for xvij^{s}

per me Johannem newportt
per me Rychard Tyrrell[1]

IX. Sales of Materials[2].

The following accounts are taken from the Ministers' Accounts in the Record Office (Exchequer and Augmentations) for the year 30—31 Henry VIII. No. 224. We have first a statement of receipts from various sources.

Keynsham { Et *respondet* de — Cxxijli vijs vjd receptis de Frauncisco Edwardes de *precio* vij Campanarum nuper Monasterio ibidem pertinentium ponderanciu*m* ad inuicem ix M. D. C. dimidium iuxta ratam xvs pro qualibet centena sic venditarum eidem Frauncisco per Thomam Arundell Militem Receptorem domini Regis ibidem ex Recognicione sua in libro Receptus sui huius anni super hunc Compotum examinata.

[1] R. O. Chapter House Books B $\frac{2}{15}$, p. 71. For a similar Inventory of Ilchester Friary see the *Reliquary*, vol. xxv. p. 77. It is well to note Father Palmer's caution that much had usually been sold before the Inventory was made, see *Reliq.* vol. xvii. p. 132. 'The inventories of goods seized in English friaries by the King's visitors, 1537—8, often mere gleanings after a harvest reaped by local peculators,—cannot be trusted as indications of poverty.' Howlett, Introd. *Mon. Fran.* pref. xxxij. n. (Rolls Ser.)

[2] Cp. Gasq. II. 426.

Et de — xjli prouenientibus de precio certorum superfluorum Edificiorum eidem nuper Monasterio pertinentium sic eidem Fraunciſco venditorum per dictum Receptorem ex Recognicione sua in libro Receptus sui huius anni super hunc Compotum examinata.

Summa $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ iijli vijs vjd

Et de $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ xviijli xviijd prouenientibus de precio viij Campanarum nuper Monasterio ibidem pertinentium ponderantium ad inuicem xiij M iij quarteria iiij lebras iuxta ratam xvs pro qualibet centena sic predicto Fraunciſco Edwardes venditarum per dictum Thomam Arundell Militem Receptorem ibidem ex Recognicione sua in libro Receptus huius anni super hunc Compotum examinata.

Et de — xxxli receptis de Anthonio Payn de precio tocius farris[1] et vitri dicto nuper Monasterio pertinentium sic prefato Anthonio in grosso per supradictum Thomam Arundell Militem Receptorem ibidem venditorum ex Recognicione sua in libro receptus sui huius anni super hunc Compotum examinata.

Et oneratur super compotum de — xli prouenientibus de lez dort eidem nuper Monasterio pertinente sic Roberto Cockes in Grosso vendito per dictum Thomam Arundell Militem Receptorem domini regis ibidem adhuc in manu dicti Roberti aretro existentibus insolutis. Eo quod habet diem solucionis inde usque proximum prout patet

Bathe

[1] ? ferri.

per Compo*tum* Obligac*ionis* inde fact*um* penes hunc comp*utantem* rem*anentem*.

E*t* on*erat*u*r* sup*er* compo*tum* de — vj li prouen*ientibus* de p*re*cio lez Fratrie eidem nup*er* Mon*asterio* p*er*tinen*tis* sic Waltero Denys M*iliti* in Grosso venditi p*er* d*ictum* Rec*eptorem* cum lx s p*re*manib*us* solut*is* *et* lx s adhuc rem*anentibus* in manu d*icti* Walt*eri* aretro insolut*is* Eo q*uod* h*abet* di*em* solu*cionis* usq*ue* p*roxim*um Compo*tum* p*rout* p*atet* *per* Obligac*ionem* *suam* inde fact*am* penes hunc Comp*utantem* restitut*am*.

E*t* on*erat*u*r* sup*er* Compo*tum* de — viij li prouen*ientibus* de p*re*cio de lez Cloyster eidem nup*er* Mon*asterio* p*er*tinen*te* sic vendito Henr*ico* Bewchyn p*er* d*ictum* Thom*am* Arundell M*ilitem* cum iiij li p*re*manib*us* solut*is* *et* iiij li adhuc in manu*m* d*icti* Henr*ici* Rem*anentibus* insolut*is* Eo q*uod* h*abet* die*m* soluc*ionis* inde usq*ue* p*roximum* Compo*tum* p*rout* p*atet* *per* obligac*ionem* inde fac*tam* penes hunc Comp*utantem* rem*anentem*.

Sum*ma* — Clij li xviij d

E*t* on*erat*u*r* sup*er* Compo*tum* de xiiij li prouen*ientibus* de p*re*cio iij Campan*arum* ponderanc*ium* ad inuicem M[1] M[1] C sec*undum* rat*am* xiij s iiij d p*ro* qualibet cent*e*na nup*er* Mon*asterio* p*re*dicto p*er*tinen*tium* sic vendit*arum* Ric*ardo* Morian p*er* p*re*dict*um* Thom*am* Arundell M*ilitem* Rec*eptorem* dom*ini* r*egis* ib*idem* cum vj li p*re*manib*us* solut*is* *et* viij li in manu d*icti* Ric*ardi* aretro existen*tibus* insolut*is* Eo q*uod* h*abet* die*m* soluc*ionis* inde usq*ue* p*roximum* Compo*tum*

Witham

prout patet per obligacionem inde factam penes hunc Computantem remanentem.

Et oneratur super Compotum de — xxli prouenientibus de precio superfluosorum Edificiorum eidem nuper Monasterio pertinentium sic in Grosso Radulpho Hopton per dictum Thomam Arundell Militem Receptorem ibidem venditorum et adhuc remanentibus in manum dicti Radulphi aretro insolutis Eo quod habet diem solucionis inde usque proximum compotum prout patet per obligacionem inde factam penes hunc computantem Restitutam.

Summa xxxiiijli

Brewton

Et oneratur super compotum de — xxxixli ijs prouenientibus de precio quinque campanarum eidem nuper monasterio pertinentium ponderancium ad inuicem V MCC xiij libras iuxta ratam xvs pro qualibet centena sic venditarum Francisco Edwardes per supra dictum Thomam Arundell Militem Receptorem ibidem cum xxiiijli xijd premanibus solutis et xvli xijd adhuc in manu dicti Francisci remanentibus insolutis Eo quod habet diem solucionis inde usque proximum compotum prout patet per obligacionem inde factam penes hunc computantem remanentem.

Et de — xli receptis de diuersis personis de precio superfluosorum Edificiorum eidem nuper Monasterio pertinentium sic eisdem (sic) venditorum per dictum Thomam Arundell Militem Receptorem domini regis ibidem ex Recognicione sua in libro Receptus sui

huius anni super hunc compotum ostensa et examinata.

Summa xlixli ijd

Mountagu

Et onerat*ur* super compot*um* de—lxli iijs prouen*ientibus* de precio quinque Campan*arum* eidem nuper priorat*ui* pertin*entium* ponderanc*ium* ad inuicem viij M xx lib*ras* iuxta ratam xvs pro qualibet cent*e*na sic venditarum parochian*is*[1] ib*ide*m per dictum Receptorem cum xxvjli xvjs iiijd p*re*manib*us* solut*is* et xxxiijli vjs viijd adhuc rema*nentibus* in manu dictorum parochianorum aretro insolut*is* Eo quod hab*ent* diem soluc*ionis* inde usque proximum Compotum prout patet per obligacionem inde Factam penes hunc Comp*utantem* Remanentem.

Summa viijli xviijs viijd

Wellys

Et de — viijli xviijs viijd receptis de Johanne Aylleworthe de precio trium Campanarum dicto nuper priorat*ui* pertinentium ponderanc*ium* ad inuicem mille centenas secundum ratam xiijs iiijd pro qualibet centena et xvj centenarum plumbi precio centene ijs sic eidem Johanni venditarum per dictum Thomam Arundell Militem Receptorem ib*ide*m ex Recognic*ione* sua in libro Receptus sui huius anni super hunc Compotum examinata.

Summa viijli xviijs viijd

[1] This is an instance of purchase by the neighbours, of monastery goods for religious purposes.

Et oneratur super Compotum de — xlli de precio quinque Campanarum eidem nuper hospicio siue prioratui pertinentium ponderancium ad inuicem vj M libras iuxta ratam xiijs iiijd pro qualibet centena sic venditarum Johanni Soper et Thome Hille per dictum Thomam Arundell Militem Receptorem domini regis ibidem et adhuc Remanentibus in manibus dictorum Johanis et Thome aretro insolutis Eo quod habent diem solucionis inde usque proximum Compotum prout patet per obligacionem inde factam super hunc Compotum Remanentem.

Et de — xiijli vjs viijd receptis de prefato Johanne Soper et Thoma Hill de precio tocius superflusi edificii nuper Prioratus sancti Johanis ibidem sic venditi eidem Johanni et Thome per dictum Thomam Arundell Militem Receptorem domini regis ibidem ex Recognicione sua in libro Receptus sui huius anni super hunc Compotum examinata.

Brigwater

Et de — xijli xs de precio quinque dolarum plumbi secundum ratam 1s pro qualibet dola pertinentium nuper prioratui Fratrum Minorum ibidem sic venditarum diuersis personis per dictum Thomam Arundell Militem ex Recognicione sua in libro Receptus sui huius anni super hunc Compotum examinata.

Et de — xli de precio certarum ulmorum cressentium circo dictum prioratum fratrum Minorum ibidem sic venditarum diversis personis per dictum Thomam Arundell Militem ex recognicione sua in libro Recep-

tus sui huius anni super hunc Compotum examinata.

Et de xli de precio superflusorum edificiorum dicto nuper prioratui Fratrum Minorum ibidem sic venditorum diversis personis per predictum Thomam Arundell Militem ex Recognicione sua in libro Receptus sui huius anni super hunc Compotum examinata.

Summa $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ vli xvjs viijd

Athelney

Et oneratur super Compotum de — lxli prouenientibus de precio de vj Campanarum eidem nuper Monasterio pertinentium ponderancium ad inuicem viij M D $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ libras iuxta ratam xiiijs pro qualibet centena sic venditarum Barnardo Balame per dictum Thomam Arundell Militem cum xxxli premanibus solutis et xxxli adhuc Remanentibus in manu dicti Barnerdi aretro insolutis Eo quod habet diem solucionis inde usque proximum Compotum prout patet per obligacionem inde factam super hunc Compotum examinatam.

Et oneratur de — xxli prouenientibus de precio tocius superflusi edificii dicto nuper Monasterio pertinentis sic venditi domino de Awdeley per dictum Thomam Arundell Militem et adhuc Remanentibus in manu dicti domini aretro insolutis Eo quod habet diem solucionis inde usque proximum Compotum prout patet per obligacionem inde super hunc Compotum examinatam.

Summa — $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$li

Buckelond

Et de — xxvjli xiijs iiijd receptis de Edwardo Rogers Armigero de precio tocius superflusi Edificii eidem nuper Monasterio pertinentis sic eidem Edwardo venditi per Thomam Arundell Militem Receptorem domini regis ibidem ex Recognicione sua in libro Receptus sui huius anni super hunc Compotum examinata.

Summa xxvjli xiijs iiijd

Taunton

Et oneratur super Compotum de — xlvli xvs prouenientibus de precio quinque Campanarum eidem nuper prioratui pertinentium ponderancium ad inuicem vj M C libras iuxta ratam xvs pro qualibet centena sic venditarum Johanni Selwood per predictum Receptorem cum xxijli iijs premanibus solutis et xxxiijli xijs adhuc remanentibus in manu dicti Johanis Selwood aretro insolutis Eo quod habet diem solucionis inde usque proximum Compotum prout patet per Obligacionem inde factam penes hunc Computantem Remanentem.

Summa — xlvli xvs

Ilchester — *Et* onerat*ur* super Compot*um* de — xxxiiijli xiijs iiijd prouen*ientibus* de *precio* omn*ium* superflus*orum* Edific*iorum* dicto nuper priorat*ui* Fratrum Fraunc*iscanorum* pertinen*tium* sic vendit*orum* Roberto Cuffe per Thomam Arundell Mil*item* Receptor*em* dom*ini* *regis* ib*idem* cum xxli *pre*manib*us* solut*is* *et* xiiijli xiijs iiijd adhuc rem*anenti*bus in manu *dicti* Rob*erti* Cuffe aretro insolut*is* Eo q*uod* h*ab*et diem solu*cionis* inde usq*ue* prox*imum* Compot*um* prout p*atet* *per* Obligacion*em* inde fact*am* penes hunc Com*putant*em Remanen*tem*.

*Sum*ma — xxxiiijli xiijs iiijd

Clyve — *Et* onerat*ur* super Compot*um* de — xxvjli xiijs iiijd prouen*ientibus* de *precio* j Capell*e* apud Clyffe eidem nuper Mon*asterio* pertinen*tis* sic vendite Edmondo Wynter *per* dict*um* Thomam Arundell Mil*item* Receptor*em* dom*ini* *regis* ib*idem* *et* adhuc rem*anentibus* in manu *dicti* Edmond*i* aretro insolut*is* Eo q*uod* h*ab*et diem solu*cionis* inde usq*ue* ad prox*imum* prout p*atet* *per* Obligac*ionem* inde fact*am* penes hunc Com*putant*em Remanen*tem*.

*Sum*ma — xxvjli xiijs iiijd

*Sum*ma Tot*a*lis Rec*eptus* Campan*arum* *et* Edific*iorum* — D C $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ vijli iiijs iiijd

So much for the receipts. The expenditure is shewn in the following accounts derived from the same authority as the former.

Kaynsham { Et in denar*iis* p*er* d*ic*-*tum* Comput*antem* de exit*u* offic*ii* s*ui* huius anni solut*is* Ric*ard*o Walker plumbar*io* p*ro* vad*iis* siue stipend*io* s*uo* p*ro* liquefacc*ione* C xx iiij xvij suu*m* plumbi existent*ium* in *et* sup*er* eccle*s*iam Claustr*um* Campanil*lam* *et* cet*era* Edific*ia* d*ic*to nup*er* Mon*asterio* p*er*tinen*tia* siue spect*antia* ponderan*tium* ad inueni-cem (sic) xx iiij xvj foders iux*ta* ijs vjd p*ro* qualibet lez foder sic cessat*a* in quadam Co*m*missione p*er* d*ic*t*um* plumbar*ium* p*re*fato Thome Arundell Mi-*li*ti Receptor*i* dom*ini* reg*is* ib*id*em ostens*a* *et* non Re-st*ituta*. V*idelicet* in allo-cat*ione* huj*usmod*i stipend*ii* siue vad*iorum* plumbar*ii* p*re*dict*i* iux*ta* rat*am* p*re*dict*am* virtute Co*m*miss*ionis* p*re*dicte ... } xij li

Bathe	Et in Consimilibus denariis per dictum Computantem de exitu officii sui huius anni dicto plumbario solutis pro stipendio siue vadiis suis pro liquefaccione CCCij suum plumbi existentium in et super ecclesiam Claustrum Campanillam et cetera edificia dicto nuper Monasterio pertinentia siue spectantia ponderantium ad inuicem Cl vj foders iuxta ratam ijs vjd pro qualibet le Foders sic cessata in quadam Commissione dicto Receptori ostensa et non restituta Videlicet in allocatione huiusmodi stipendii iuxta ratam predictam virtute Commissionis predicte ...	xixli xs
	Et in denariis solutis dicto plumbario pro stipendio siue vadiis suis pro liquefaccione xxxiij suum plumbi existentium in et super Ecclesiam Claustrum Campanillam et cetera edificia dicto nuper monasterio pertinentia siue spectantia ponderantium inuicem xvj	

Hynton	lez foders iuxta ratam ijs vjd pro qualibet le foder sic cessata in Commissione predicta per dictum plumbarium prefato Receptori ostensa et non restituta. Videlicet in allocatione huiusmodi stipendii iuxta ratam predictam virtute Commissionis predicte	xls
Wytham	Et in consimilibus denariis solutis dicto plumbario pro stipendio siue vadiis suis pro liquefaccione $\overset{xx}{\text{iiij}}$ ij suum plumbi existentium in et super ecclesiam Claustrum Campanillam et cetera edificia dicto nuper monasterio pertinentia ponderancium ad inuecem xl iij foders ix C viijli iuxta ratam predictam sic ut prefertur cessatam in Commissione predicta prefato Receptori ostensa et non Restituta. Videlicet in allocatione huiusmodi stipendii siue vadiorum dicti plumbarii iuxta ratam predictam virtute Commissionis predicte	C viijs

Mountague	Et in denar*iis* p*er* d*ic*- t*um* Comput*antem* solut*is* d*ic*to plumbar*io* p*ro* sti- pend*io* siue vad*iis* s*uis* p*ro* liquefacc*ione* iiij^{xx} x suu*m* plumbi existent*is* in *et* sup*er* Eccl*es*iam Claustr*um* Campanil*lam* *et* cet*era* edific*ia* d*ic*to nup*er* Mon*asterio* p*er*- tin*entia* ponder*antium* ad inuic*em* xlviij foders *et* xvj *centenas* iux*ta* rat*am* p*redict*am sic ut p*refertur* cessat*am* in Comm*issione* p*redicta* pre- fato Rec*eptori* ostens*a* *et* non rest*ituta*. Vi*delicet* in all*ocat*ione hui*usmodi* stipend*ii* siue vad*iorum* d*icti* plumbar*ii* iux*ta* rat*am* p*redict*am virt*ute* comm*issionis* p*redicte* ...	vjli ijs
	Et in consi*mil*ib*us* de- nar*iis* solut*is* d*ic*to plum- bar*io* p*ro* liquefacc*ione* lxiiij suu*m* plumbi exis- tent*is* in *et* sup*er* Eccl*es*iam Claustr*um* Campanil*lam* *et* cet*era* edific*ia* d*ic*to nup*er* Mon*asterio* p*erti*- n*entia* ponderanc*ium* ad inuic*em* xxxv foders *et*	

Bruton	C xxxvj li*bras* iux*ta* rat*am* pred*ictam* sic ut p*re*fertur cess*atam* in Com*missione* pred*icta* p*re*fato Rec*eptori* ostens*a* et non rest*ituta*. Vid*elicet* in all*ocati*one hui*usmodi* stipend*ii* siue vad*iorum* d*icti* plumbar*ii* iux*ta* rat*am* pred*ictam* virt*ute* Com*missionis* pred*icte* ...	iiijli viijs ixd
Athelney	Et in denar*iis* p*er* eundem Comput*antem* solut*is* d*icto* plumbar*io* p*ro* stipend*io* siue vad*iis* s*uis* p*ro* liquefacc*ione* xl viij su*um* plumbi existent*is* in *et* sup*er* eccles*iam* Claustr*um* Campanil*lam* *et* cet*era* edificia d*icto* nup*er* Mon*asterio* p*er*tinentia* ponder*ancium* ad inuicem xxv foders xv centenas iiij[xx] x li*bras* iux*ta* rat*am* pred*ictam* sic ut p*re*fertur cess*atam* in Com*missione* pred*icta* p*re*fato Rec*eptori* ostens*a* et non rest*ituta*. Vid*elicet* in all*ocati*one hui*usmodi* stipend*ii* siue vad*iorum* d*icti* plumbar*ii* iux*ta* rat*am* pred*ictam* virt*ute* Com*missionis* pred*icte* ...	lxiiijs iiijd ob

Bucklond	Et in denar*iis* *per* sup*ra*-*dict*um Comput*antem* solut*is* *dicto* plumbar*io* *pro* stipend*io* siue vad*iis* *suis* *pro* liquefacc*ione* lv suum plumbi existent*is* in *et* sup*er* eccle*s*iam Claustr*um* Campanil*lam* *et* cetera edifi*cia* *dicto* nuper Mo*nasterio* pertin*entia* ponderan*cium* ad inuicem xxx foders *et* x C l*ibras* iuxta rat*am* *predictam* sic ut p*refertur* cess*atam* in Com*missione* *predicta* prefato Rec*eptori* ostens*a* *et* non rest*ituta*. Vid*elicet* in all*ocati*one huiusmodi stipend*ii* siue vad*iorum* *dicti* plumbar*ii* iuxta rat*am* *predict*am virt*ute* Com*missionis* predicte ...	lxxvjs iijd

Thus the costs of the melting down of the lead roofs. We now have other items of expense perhaps of equal interest.

Et in denar*iis* solut*is* *pro* Cust*ibus* Rec*eptoris* Audit*oris* *et* al*iorum* Com-miss*ionariorum* dom*ini* *regis* itinerant*ium* in Com*itatu* Som*erset* *predicto* ad defalcand*as* dirumpend*as*

et prosternendas diuersas ecclesias campanillas Claustra et cetera edificia nuper Monasteriis siue prioratibus in Comitatu predicto Auctoritate parliamenti iam dissolutis et suppressis pertinentibus siue spectantibus et ibidem existentium ac morantium per spacium xj septimanarum circa premissa predicta peragenda et finienda secundum vim formam et effectum quorumdam articulorum in instrucione eiusdem Commissionarii in hac parte directa specificatorum prout in eisdem Instructionibus plenius apparebat ac superuidenda omnia et singula dominia Maneria terras et tenementa ac alias possessiones quascumque tam spirituales quam temporales nuper Monasteriis prioratibus siue hospitalibus in Comitatu predicto pertinentia siue spectantia et in manibus domini regis racione libere et gratuite sursum redditionis dudum abba-

Custus Commissionariorum } lvij li xs

tum priorum abbatissarum priorissarum siue aliorum Gubernatorum dictorum nuper Monasteriorum prioratuum siue Hospitalium iam existentium et Corone sue serenissime Magestatis in augmentum reuencionum auctoritate cuiusdam Actus parliamenti tenti apud Westmonasterium vicesimo octavo die Aprilis anno regni regis Henrici octaui tricesimo inde editi et prouisi annexi. Necnon circa premissa superuidenda peragenda et finienda moram ibidem faciendam per spacium predictum prout patet per librum de parcellis inde confectum. Videlicet in allocatione huiusmodi expensarum dictorum Receptoris et auditoris et aliorum Commissionariorum ibidem existentium per spacium predictum prout patet per librum predictum ut prefertur de parcellis confectum super hunc Compotum ostensum et examinatum .....

Et in consimilibus denariis solutis pro custibus et expensis Receptoris Auditoris et omnium Ministrorum computabilium omnium et singulorum dominiorum Maneriorum terrarum et tenementorum ac aliarum possessionum quarumcumque domini regis ibidem nuper Monasteriis siue Prioratibus predictis in Comitatu predicto iam dissolutis et suppressis pertinentium siue spectantium apud Taunton in Comitatu predicto existentibus per spacium iij septimanarum tempore Auditoris ibidem pro eorum Compotis audiendis et determinandis prout patet per librum inde de parcellis super hunc Compotum examinatum ..... xvijli xixs vijd

Et in denariis solutis pro Baga empta et prouisa pro libris Auditoris ponendis pro salua custodia eorundem prout consimilis allocatio facta est utrique Auditorum domini regis ducatus sui Lan- iijs iiijd

castrie[1]. Videlicet in allocatione huiusmodi virtute actus parliamenti inde editi et prouisi .....

Et in denariis solutis pro custibus et expensis unius hominis equitanei cum literis Auditori et Receptori directis pro premonicione omnium et singulorum officiorum et Ministrorum Computantium ad Comperiendum coram Auditore et Receptore domini regis apud Taunton predictam pro Compotis eorum ibidem audiendis et determinandis prout consimilis allocatio facta est utrique Auditorum dicti domini regis ducatus sui predicti. Videlicet in allocatione huiusmodi virtute actus predicti ..... vs

Expense necessarie

Et in denariis solutis pro j viridi panno empto et prouiso pro Scaccario Auditoris prefati domini regis ibidem cooperiendo pro Compotis ministrorum

[1] This is a curious instance of the safeguard of precedent. In our day if one found an entry of only £3 for bags for books it would not seem excessive.

et omnium aliorum Computantium eiusdem domini *regis* hoc anno audiendis *et* determinandis prout consimilis allocatio facta est utrique Auditorum dicti domini *regis* ducatus *sui* predicti Videlicet in allocatione huiusmodi virtute actus predicti	vjs viijd
Et in denariis solutis pro papiro *et* Enchausto emptis *et* prouisis tam pro Compoto Receptoris quam pro Compotis Ministrorum domini *regis* ibidem hoc anno superscribendis prout consimilis allocatio facta est utrique Auditorum dicti domini *regis* ducatus *sui* predicti. Videlicet in allocatione huiusmodi virtute actus predicti	vjs viijd
Et in denariis solutis pro Bagis emptis *et* prouisis pro moneta domini *regis* imponenda hoc anno prout allocatum est Receptori particulari dicti domini *regis* ducatus *sui* predicti. Videlicet in allocatione huiusmodi virtute Actus predicti	iijs iiijd

Et in allocatione facta dicto Computanti pro portagio et Cariagio monete dicti domini regis inferius liberate Thome Pope Armigero Thesaurario Curie Augmentationum Reuentionum corone dicti domini regis prefato Thome Pope deliberate prout consimilis allocatio facta est Receptoribus dicti domini regis ducatus sui Lancastrie in Compotis suis in huiusmodi Casu.....	xli

xxixli iiijs vijd

CHAPTER IV.

The Effect of the Dissolution upon the Condition of the Poor.

'It is impossible,' says Father Gasquet[1], 'to read any account of the work done by monastic institutions for the poor without perceiving in how many directions this present generation has been compelled by very necessity to devise some substitute for the consideration thus exercised.' But whether the work done by the houses for the poor was really large at all, and whether it was a benefit, have been doubted by very competent observers. The late Prof. Thorold Rogers[2] however estimated the effect of the monks' residence highly. Nicholls[3], and Burn[4], admit the fact that a great deal was given away in charity by the orders but attribute the existence of pauperism in no small degree to the system of monastic charity itself. But in truth this imputation can only be true

[1] II. p. 505.

[2] *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*, IV. 114. The general attitude of the post-reformation rich towards the poor may be gathered from Gough's Index to the *Parker Soc. Pub.* 615—6.

[3] *Hist. of the Poor Law*, I. 128.

[4] *Historical Dissertation*, p. 50. Pilkington says, 'the hospitality and alms of Abbeys is not altogether to be either allowed or dispraised. The most of that which they did bestow was on the rich, and not the poor indeed, &c.' (Parker Soc.) 610.

of periods before the XVIth century, seeing that there were causes enough for the spread of poverty at that period which the orders had no power and certainly had no will either to help or hinder. Poverty in Henry the Eighth's day meant agricultural poverty, and agricultural conditions are necessarily bound up with the land system. The English land system was changing, and as we shall see when we come to that subject, the relation between landlord and tenant was becoming one of contract instead of one of status. The old personal tie was lost, and with it all its demoralizing advantages, while the benefits of land becoming an article of commerce and subject to the ordinary rules of competition were not as yet perceived. But all this had begun before the dissolution; it was one aspect of the social revolution of the XVIth century of which the dissolution was the result; and as is not usual in such cases when the monastic estates were secularized, the movement received an immense additional impetus. The cry throughout the rest of the century is always that rents are being raised and the poor neglected. There are not wanting signs that though as a rule behind the rest of the landowners in their customs, and though also as a rule easy landlords, the convents were beginning to feel the effects of the change which was becoming general, and enclosing commons, and raising rents like their neighbours.

That the dissolution merely brought the question of the poor to a crisis, and by no means originated the difficulty, will be seen from a glance at the History of the Legislation on the subject.

In the 22nd year then of Henry VIII.[1] we have an act directed against the gypsies, a race that has often excited legislation in this country, but small in numbers, and therefore of but small account in an economic sense.

In fact 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12 is the great act on the subject, dealing as it does with all aged and impotent poor people, and making the following regulations[2].

That every mayor justice bailiff and other officer should take part in a diligent search prosecuted within a district for all 'aged poor or impotent persons which live or of necessity be compelled to live by almes of the charity of the people.' To these at their discretion they might grant licenses to beg within a certain district, and the counterpart of the license must be presented at the court of quarter sessions and kept by the custos rotulorum, so that no man should beg out of his district with impunity, suitable punishments to the extent of whipping being provided for.

The magistrates were also empowered by this statute to punish severely any able-bodied beggars[3] whom they should find at large.

[1] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 10. For notes shewing the earlier pressure of poverty see *Churchwardens' Accounts* (*Som. Rec. Soc.*), ed. Hobhouse, p. 250. On the general question see the notes on pp. 248 and 249. That the xvith century poverty was due in origin to the break up of the Feudal System there seems no manner of doubt. Cf. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Ind. and Commerce* (Early and Middle Ages), pp. 478 &c., Faucher in *Systems of Land Tenure in various Countries* (Cobden Club) 325.

[2] The preamble shews that the pauper difficulty was no novelty as early as this.

[3] Reeves' Editor, vol. III. p. 252, considers (improbably) that this refers to the mendicants. Cf. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27.

This act is very elaborate and curious[1]. It is the well-known statute containing the reference to the scholars of Oxford and Cambridge, who were ordered not to go about begging except with the authority of their university, or they would find themselves within the scope of the above provisions.

The next statute[2] on the subject refers to the last and must be read with it as its complement. It is termed 'An act for punishment of sturdy vagabondes and beggers.' The act of 22 Hen. VIII. had ordered beggars who were arrested out of their settlements, to use a later expression, to be carried back to their proper district, but it did not provide for their maintenance when they got there. This act accordingly begins by laying down that all governors of shires, towns and parishes shall not only receive but keep all aged and impotent poor persons who may be sent back to them[3]. Further that they shall find work for all the sturdy vagabonds. The collecting of the necessary funds is left very much in the discretion of the officers of the towns. It is suggested that it be done with boxes on Sundays

[1] The preamble certainly shews that poverty was pressing and extensive in 1531. Vagabonds, it recites, and beggars have of long time increased and daily do increase; and that notwithstanding previous legislation.

[2] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 25. Between 1541 and 1601 Thorold Rogers (*Hist. of Agr. and Prices*, v. 820 n.) gives the following statutes: 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 12 (an act as to sanctuary); 37 Hen. VIII. c. 23; 1 Edw. VI. c. 3; 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 2; 7 Edw. VI. c. 11; 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary c. 5; 5 Eliz. c. 3; 14 Eliz. c. 5; 18 Eliz. c. 3; 35 Eliz. c. 7; 39 Eliz. c. 3; 43 Eliz. c. 2. (Cf. Ed. of the *Statutes of the Realm*, Lond. 1819 fol.)

[3] Three years constituted a "settlement."

and festivals. All children found in a vagrant condition may be taken and apprenticed, if not diseased, the funds being obtained from the poor-box. The management of the fund is set forth in great detail if there were any fund to manage. The whole basis of the system is ecclesiastical, but it will be noticed that it is the secular and not the regular clergy who have, with the ordinary town officials, the management. Indeed "the common dole" is forbidden[1], its place being taken by aid from a box kept in the church, whose accounts are strictly entered by the churchwardens and parson; no relief being given in money by private persons excepting through this box; it being augmented perhaps by the bequests of the charitable which the parson is instructed to suggest.

All this before the destruction of the greater houses, though the last act was in the same year as the dissolution of the smaller foundations. There was then a fairly complete poor-law in Henry the Eighth's time, and it was all constructed before the economic effects of the confiscations were felt. Another remark that may be made is that it is strange if the monastic charity were as great as has been represented, that it does not receive more statutory recognition. It is mentioned in this act as something that, like the distribution at great men's houses which is also mentioned, may continue as an auxiliary to the provision made in the act, but everything looks as though it were totally insufficient[2].

[1] Sec. XIII. This section clearly refers to the religious houses in providing that those bound to give alms by tenure must do so through the common box.

[2] Cf. Introd. to *Somerset Record Society's Publications*, vol. IV.

But all this surely points to but one conclusion, namely, the strength of the secular clergy and of the parochial system in the reformation period. The care which was taken to provide for the chantry priests, who were really seculars, as contrasted with the rough way in which the monks were treated, may be ascribed to the same cause. The completeness of the parochial system may best be gathered from published collections of village accounts such as those edited by Bishop Hobhouse[1]; if looked into they shew how good the organization of the parish was, how secular, self-supporting, and entirely non-monastic it was, and how natural it was that the poor-law should be built upon the village institutions, and that at first, seeing how well able they were to arrange their own affairs, they should have been left considerable license in the matter.

All the later statutes until that of Elizabeth, 1 Edward VI. cap. 3[2], 3 and 4 Edward VI. cap. 16, 5 and 6 Edward VI. cap. 2, 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, c. 5, and the like were but makeshifts as occasion suggested; each differs but slightly from its predecessor and the number of acts and the details of their preambles suggest that they were not fully carried out.

So the statute roll. We have other evidence however that the poverty of the poor was great before the dissolution as well as afterwards. Take Fish's "Supplication for the beggars," published in 1524. After a grievous complaint of the then sad

[1] For the Somerset Record Society.

[2] A sturdy beggar by this Act was to be adjudged a slave.

state of the commonwealth he proceeds to attribute it to what he terms "these greedy sort of sturdy idell holy theves," "a sorte of idell gluttons," and so forth. From Fish's language it may be gathered that he was merely reviling the monks because he knew the reading classes, and was sure of his audience even when addressing the king; an impression confirmed by reading "The supplication of the poore commons," published after the dissolution. His words are those of a scurrilous libeller, but he may be to some extent trusted when he is referring to the state of the country, although disbelieved when enumerating the causes of distress.

The relation of landlord and tenant or the remembrance of it, the strength of the voluntary village gilds[1], to which money was always being left[2] and which had so important an influence on village life, the charity of the vicars[3]; all these must have lightened poverty to some extent. Certain it is however that there is no mention in the churchwardens' accounts referred to of money directly applied to relieve the poor, and yet we are equally sure that the poverty was great and increasing and that the monastic charities never extended beyond the immediate range of the monasteries.

Few seem to have noticed the splendid private hospitality of the country gentry of the fifteenth

[1] Bp Hobhouse's very valuable introduction to vol. IV. *Som. Rec. Soc. Publ.*

[2] Cf. Weaver, *Wells Wills*, *passim*.

[3] It is difficult to believe that a part at least of the money left in almost every will (cp. Weaver, *Wells Wills*) to a church or parson did not go to relieve the poor.

century. Often there were very large wings devoted to the accommodation of casual passers by in the manor houses, of which plenty of evidence remains, indeed the usual plan of building shews how serious a matter hospitality was. In this way the licensed beggar got a shelter on his round from monastery to monastery, and the decay of this promiscuous entertainment doubtless aggravated the sixteenth century distress. The injunctions as to keeping up Hospitality in the latter part of the sixteenth century cannot have been merely caused by a reminiscence of the monastic régime if for no other reason because of the impoverished condition of most of the small houses.

But when every discount[1] is made the provision for the poor that may be termed religious, was considerable. No doubt it was indiscriminate charity, but then the recipients were all as a rule known to the monks and the multitude of small foundations which provided for old age without conveying the chill suggestion which gleams in the modern word workhouse was almost beyond belief.

But to begin with the ordinary houses. An important officer of every convent was the almoner, who

[1] The incomes of most of the houses would not allow of much giving. Further the way in which the great donations as at Glastonbury were viewed is not suggestive of their frequency. And the schemes for 'utilizing' the monastic property about the suppression time shew that the inadequacy of the present provision was strongly felt. Cf. for an account Cranmer's works (*Park. Soc.*) II. 16. Parker's household management is a good illustration of the manner of life expected from a rich man in the days of the Tudors. Strype's *Parker*, II. 441—4. For an earlier period see Hobhouse's account of Bishop Drokensford's daily and yearly alms from 1313 to 1329 (*Som. Rec. Soc. Publ.* IV. 250.) Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages.*

had it is true other duties[1] besides his chief duty, which consisted in attending to the interests of the poor. All fragments left at table, as well as special collections, were devoted by him to these objects. He had towards Christmas to lay up a store of shoes and clothes for widows and orphans. In many houses too there were customary oblations from the Abbot or prior which never amounted to less than about five pounds of our money. So important was this matter that a special building or office called the almonry was usually found within the precincts. Its place was next the church and it must not be confounded with the guest-hall, which will be noticed in its charitable aspect directly.

Here approached a long succession of conventual poor, from the nature of things as we have said before they were generally an unchanging body. Often the almoner went out, he was allowed to do so without special leave, and distributed to the necessities of the convent's workpeople, or of the indigent who were particularly recommended to such attention. Bread and meat and clothing were distributed, but also beer[2]. Children appear to have been taught in the Canterbury Almonry, which was very rich.

And if such was the custom it but followed out the rule. All orders required a tenth to be given up in alms. No monk could have anything of his

[1] Finding mats for the choir; birch rods for the boys' school; sweeping out the dormitory, &c. Fosbrooke, 130. An account of monastic buildings and officers will be found in Fuller's *Church History*, ed. 1655, Bk. VI. sec. ii. Cf. A. Jessopp, *Daily life in a Med. Mon.*, XIX. cent., 1884, i. 100.

[2] It is not necessary to go into detail here. For Benedictines see Stevens, I. 189.

own. The Maundy was often accompanied by a distribution. But all this, as far as theory and early practice go, is matter of common notoriety. The difficulty arises when we have to give a general answer to the question, was the rule observed during the period before the reformation? Perhaps it is almost wise to leave such a problem. Froude asserts that the care of the monks had been to increase their revenues rather than to dispense them[1], an assertion that may have this reply if none other, that the solicitude was but ill rewarded, as a comparison with the valor of the XVth century will shew. The monks must stand or fall in this matter with their general character. If allowance for times and their number be made, it must be admitted that their reputation with the lower classes was good, and that in the matter of charity at all events they were not behindhand multitudes of witnesses testify. All the complaints of the poor, the northern rebels, the Devon rebels, where do they arise from? There must be some ground for the general cry. Why does Layton write from Muchelney complaining of the decay of its hospitality if there were no longer the obligation acknowledged? Again what profit to the monks would there be in the diminishing of the alms when men were so localized that the monks were the only travellers and they not very wide ones, when luxuries were not to be procured however they might be wished for? Is it not more probable that a dozen men would

[1] Cf. Browne Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbeys*, ed. 1718, i. 38, 39, 40.

spend rather than save the surplus of a sufficient and corporate income? The probability is then that the monks gave according to their ability. But whether in the changed conditions of their life they had much to give, whether what was given benefitted the district, and whether it benefitted the poor of any wider area are questions to which an answer must be returned in the negative.

We will then first glance at the Somerset houses as great relieving agencies for the poor, leaving for the moment the chantries and fraternities.

A curious manuscript in the British Museum[1] of about the middle of the sixteenth century complains of the loss which Taunton had suffered by the suppression of the priory. It notes that the prior had maintained not only a school but many almshouses, all of which would after the dissolution no longer have the funds necessary for their support.

At Glastonbury[2] the monks kept by their almoner a hospital for poor and infirm persons, about eight in number. This independently of the magnificent distributions which were made every Wednesday and Friday. Again an Abbot of Glaston founded a similar almshouse for women.

At Bridgewater[3] 13 poor persons were permanently kept by the brethren of the hospital of St John.

At Bath the prior built a little hospital and chapel for lunatics. There was also the hospital of St Peter and John the Baptist, one of the few which escaped dissolution[4].

[1] Add. 30277.
[2] Tanner, *Not. Mon.*, *Somt.* xxii.
[3] Tanner, *Not. Mon.*
[4] Cf. Warner, *History of Bath*, Chap. iv. pp. 278 and sqq.

Apparently there was a leper house at Langport.

At Wells a hospital of monastic foundation for 24 poor men and women. This was not dissolved, but a similar institution dedicated to St John disappeared at the dissolution[1].

Muchelney kept an almshouse and there were others.

Turning to another source of benefit to the poor still however dealing with the regular foundations. In the accounts of almost every monastery there occur definite sums of money set apart for charitable distribution; money usually left for the purpose of which the convent were the administrators. These have been thus tabulated by Bishop Hobhouse[2]:

[1] Tanner, *Not. Mon.*

[2] *Churchw. Accs.* p. 248. Wells cathedral had certain distributions connected with Obits and Anniversaries returned 1 Edw. VI. at £21. 16*s.* 6*d.* This belongs of course rather to the Chantry System. At Bridgewater only £1. 13*s.* was really distributed, but 13 boys and 7 almsmen were maintained. See Wells, *Valor Eccl.* p. 140: Glaston, *V. E.* p. 146—7: Bruton, *V. E.* p. 150: none at Henton, *V. E.* p. 156: nor at Witham, p. 158: Taunton, *V. E.* p. 170: Bath, *V. E.* p. 177: Keynsham, *V. E.* p. 182: none at Mynchin Barrow, *V. E.* p. 183: Worspring, *V. E.* p. 188: Muchelney, *V. E.* p. 194: Montacute, *V. E.* p. 196: Temple Combe none: Athelney, *V. E.* p. 206: Bridgewater, *V. E.* p. 208: Canyngton, *V. E.* p. 209: Buckland none, *V. E.* p. 211: Cleeve, *V. E.* p. 217: Berlyche, *V. E.* p. 219: Dunster, *V. E.* p. 220. It is certainly curious to find Religious Houses so close together. Round Yeovil we have Montacute, Muchelney and Ilchester, and a large chantry at Stoke. It is common enough to find several in one town, which does not argue strongly for their efficiency. The existence of private charities too, when such were rare, in the neighbourhood of large houses points towards inefficiency in the same way as the foundation of grammar schools at towns such as Northampton indicates a want of teaching.

	£.	s.	d.
Glastonbury	140	16	8
Wells St John's	3	6	8
Bruton	16	6	8
Taunton	41	9	0
Keynsham	10	15	0
Worspring	8	0	0
Bath Abbey	10	2	6
Bath St John's	0	8	0
Muchelney	11	3	0
Montacute	23	8	6
Athelney	22	18	2
Cleeve	26	18	4
Barlynch	8	1	0
Dunster	0	14	8
Bridgewater St John's	32	6	8
	£356	14	10

So much for what may be called the funded provision for the poor; the hospitals, directly controlled by convents, and the charitable foundations in their hands; to these we have to add, before we finish with the monasteries, the ordinary dole and the free hospitality to guests. The two run a good deal into one another and the dole has been already noted. Of it all we need say is that in Somerset what information there is, which is very scanty, seems to shew that the attention to this important duty could have been but moderate. Bath, Athelney and Muchelney were financially in difficulties; so Henton and Mynchin Barrow[1]. So that they could not do as much almsgiving

[1] Henton as appears by its pawn of plate. Mynchin Barrow, see *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.* XII. p. 86.

as they ought to have done. But that in the West of England the practice had vanished no one will assert. If it had been so whence had come the attachment of the common people so signally vindicated in the rebellion of Devonshire? Further we have a record of the Glastonbury distributions. The reception of guests was enjoined on all the orders. We gather that there was a guest-hall in every important monastery with suitable chambers[1]. The more important guests were lodged in the one, the ordinary pilgrims and travellers in the other[2]. Founders and their relations could remain a long time with the convent, less privileged persons two days and two nights. A difference existed in the manner of reception, the bells being rung for guests of high rank. Even nuns had to receive visitors, who were only allowed to remain one night in the nunnery, and were served by lay sisters, seeing only the prioress of the regulars[3]. All this, if it shews nothing else, shews a thorough scheme of hospitality, which in lay houses certainly after the dissolution began to be conspicuous by its absence; and though the 'decay of hospitality' was due to other causes than the dissolution it marks the loss of one of the pleasantest features of mediaeval life which the monks did much to regulate and encourage.

[1] Cf. Browne Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbeys*. Ed. 1718, i. 20, 21, 38, 52, and many other places.

[2] See passim. Fosbrooke, *British Monachism*, c. IX.

[3] "All gestes and estraungers comynge to the monastery shalbe receyved in like maner as Christe shold be, for he shall say I was a geste and ye receyved me." Fox's *Trans. of the Rule of St Benedict for Nuns*. (In the Grenv. Lib.)

In any case all these buildings such as we read of at Glastonbury, St Albans and Durham, the Hall of one hundred and fifty feet in length at Canterbury, the feastings, the immense consumptions of grain and victuals which can be read in the housekeepers' accounts, all must have meant a great deal of substantial though promiscuous relief to the poor in certain districts[1].

But great though the loss of all this regular and irregular aid might have been, the poor suffered more by the loss of the guilds, fraternities and chantries, and their small assistances, than they did by the doing away with the more magnificent foundations. In all the country villages, in lonely chapelries, in places far from a monastery, and in the larger centres of population, the chantry priest was made the administrator by the charitable of multitudes of small funds. The examples which follow are of course not exhaustive, but they are taken from different parts of the county and serve to shew, as Mr Green[2] points out, how firm and deep the hold was that the system had taken of the country. They will also excite the remark that the poverty of the poor must have been very terrible when neither the religious provision nor the statutory sufficed for their needs. The Act of Elizabeth was not rendered necessary by the dissolution, but the dissolution itself was effected at the worst possible time for so great an economic change. Hence the great poverty of the years following Edward's acces-

[1] Cf. the very striking quotations in Strype's *Memorials*, I. i. 532 and seq.

[2] In the Introd. to *Som. Chantries*.

sion[1]. Hence too the cruelty of the Act of Confiscation which marked the first years of that monarch's reign. It certainly seemed as if the locust was eating what the palmerworm had left and that what was left was but little and the property of the poor.

The following examples are chosen from various Deaneries.

ILMYNSTER[2].

> Memord. The same feoffees distributeth yerely out of the premisses to the poore people in tyme of the Anniversarie yerely kept for the founders. viijs.
>
> Item to the poore prisoners remayning in the Gaole of Ilchester yerely. iiis iiijd.

TAUNTON[3].

> Ther was distributed yerely to xiij almosehowses in Taunton aforesaide wherin do remayne xxvj poore people according to the foundacion of this Chauntrie. lvis iiijd.
>
> Item for the reparacions of the same Almosehowses yerely xxs. And for the reparacions of ij other Almoschouses yerely vs. Amounting in all to iiijli xvjd by the yere.

PORLOCKE[4].

> Ther was distributed yerely to too poore men remayning ther, by the foundacion of the said Chauntries, viz. to either of theym by the weke.—vijd. lxs viijd.

[1] Cf. Strype, *Memorials*, II. ii. 132, *Smith*, 166.

[2] *Som. Rec. Soc.* vol. II. p. 2. As has been insisted on before, the Chantry System does not belong to the Monastic System. The loss of the gilds &c. was vastly serious for the poor; Cranmer is said to have protested against the act of confiscation.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 49.

To the poore people ther yerely in breade and drinke in the tyme of the Anniversarie kept for the founders. xiiij s.

GLASTONBURY[1].

Ther be w^th^in the sayde paryshe of Glaston, two Almosehouses, thone callyd Mawdelyns havinge ix poore people therin who receyve yerely of the Kinges majestie by thandes of his graces Receyvor of the saide countie after the rate of xd le pece euery weke. The other callyd the newe Almosehowse, havinge x poore people, paide in lyke manner after the rate of euery of them vij d le weke.

CHEWE MAGNA[2].

Ther was yerely distributed to the poore people in tyme of the obit in breade iij s iiij d out of the premisses according to the tenor of the last will and testament of the foresaide John horsington.

SHEPTON MALLETT[3].

Ther was distributed yerely as well out of the Revenues belonginge to the foresaide guilde, as also out of the saide landes and tenementes graunted for the mayntennance of lightes and obites, to the poore people ther xxxs viij d paide by thandes of the wardeyns of the same as appereth by their accomptes.

PYTNEY[4].

Ther is a poore Almoshouse which hathe great nede of relief and augmentacion of lyving.

TRENT[5].

Ther hathe been yerely distributed emongest the poore people of the paryshe ther, xs viij d parcell of

[1] *Som. Rec. Soc.* vol. II. p. 67. [2] *Ibid.* p. 87.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 134. [4] *Ibid.* p. 141. [5] *Ibid.* p. 146.

the saide so*mm*e of xiijs iiijd graunted for the mayntenn*anc*e of the said obit.

These examples will shew what the poor lost in return for the vague unfulfilled promises contained in the preamble of the dissolving act. Where they did not lose material comforts of the kind indicated above, they were deprived of the hope of an obit towards which perhaps they had been many years contributing. The way in which this form of service was obtained by the lower orders in Henry's time involved what we should term a benefit club; a number contributing towards the support of a priest who said a certain number of prayers for the souls of such as had died[1]. To say that men ought not to be interfered with in such voluntary associations would be to judge the XVIth century by the standard of the XIXth, but the suppression, in manner at least, was an act which would have been cruel in any age.

The concluding portion of this chapter will not be a long one, an indication that the measures for the benefit of the poor apart from statutory poor-laws were few and unimportant. What was done however during the latter part of Henry's reign and that of his son must be noticed.

The government knew well that the dissolution would mean the decay of hospitality unless some substitute for the monastery could be devised; or perhaps as it appears from what did occur the

[1] It must not be supposed that the Chantries were in an altogether efficient state at the Dissolution (cf. Green, *Introduction*). Some of these small foundations were out of date in system but some again expressed a spirit of self help. All were of a religious complexion.

government wished to satisfy the House of Commons on the subject by a specious measure and then leave things to take their course.

An act of the same year as the first of the dissolution acts, namely 27 Hen. VIII.[1], which will be considered in a subsequent chapter, may be noticed here. It is entitled "An act concerning the decay of houses and enclosures," and it has a slight bearing on the condition of the poor though more on the general mercantile results of the suppression. The effect of the act is to place a penalty on those who lay away tilled land for pasture and suffer dwelling-houses to go to decay. It recited in its preamble the happy effects of such an act on the king's own tenants the reason for his extension of its operation to the whole realm. This basing of the act on the feudal relation shews the hold which such ideas still had on the country. The act looks at the matter a good deal from the labourers' point of view; one might almost say its existence is a proof of that, and it enumerates want of food as among other evils induced by the then state of things.

Far more important is the provision in the act of dissolution itself which runs thus[2]. That all to whom the king's majesty should give any site with the houses thereon builded together with the demesnes of any monasteries that should be dissolved by that act, should be bound by authority of that act to keep an honest continual house and household

[1] Cap. 22. We read that in 1538 "began the collection for the poor; and a great number cured of many grievous diseases through the charity thereof." In 1541 it ceased (Dixon, ii. 205, quoting Fabyan).

[2] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28, s. 9.

in the same site or precinct and to occupy yearly as much of the same demesnes in ploughing and tillage of husbandry, that was to say as much of the said demesnes which had commonly used to be kept in tillage by the governors of the same houses, or by their farmers within the time of twenty years next before that act. A penalty was fixed and the justices were to enquire into the matter at sessions, but the whole provision was unreal and never at all events presented any terror to the new holders of the monastic lands[1].

As may be seen from the Statute Roll many towns in the west were in a decaying state[2]. A remedy was attempted, 32 Hen. VIII. c. 19, but this would be of no special benefit to the poor. Rather a burden to them than a benefit, as a certain amount of forced labour would be necessary. Taunton, Bridgewater, Ilchester and Somerton are mentioned.

An act of Edward VI.'s[3] reign attempted to check the enclosure of commons which had proceeded with rapidity as soon as the conventual lands had passed into lay hands, and the rage for landowning, whether it were lawfully or unlawfully obtained, had become general. How unsuccessful this act was many subsequent statutes shew.

[1] Burn, p. 7. It continued on the roll till 21 Jac. I. before it was repealed. That it was a dead letter is shewn by the fact that in the time of Elizabeth very few knew where the monasteries had stood. Amos, A., *Statutes of Hen. VIII.* p. 299.

[2] Gross in *The Gild Merchant* (i. 51–2) attributes this decay of towns in no small degree to the gild system. Cf. Cunningham, *Hist. of Engl. Industry and Commerce* (*Early and Middle Ages*), 450—468.

[2] 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 3.

In 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 6, a fresh attempt was made to restrain the conversion of tilled land into pasture, an act which must have been caused by pressure from below.

Such were the few and meagre equivalents that the government offered for the endowments of the poor. It need hardly be insisted on further that a gross and cruel breach of faith was committed by Edward's government. The act itself, not reckoning every honest feeling, expressly saved the rights of those entitled to the chantry pensions and funds, but those rights certainly received no respect. For all the complex chantry machinery we have about three schools and a few vicarages. The work of helping the poor without pauperising them, if it were possible, had to be begun again[1].

As for Henry and his ministers their proceedings were in manner dishonest, and no one will excuse their methods any more. It needed little light on Lee, Layton, Cromwell and their accomplices to dispel the shadowy picture of the Tudor history which has so long been accepted. That light has been given[2]; and however we may rejoice at the work accomplished, we can only regret the lawless haste in which it was done.

Before this chapter closes a few remarks may be added. The first has regard to the regular monastic charity which it may be well to regard cautiously. If we take an abbey such as Cleeve with an income

[1] See H. Arth, *Provision for the Poor*, preface, 1596, and J. Downame, *The Plea of the Poor*, 1616, cap. 1. This work shews that the city companies did something by collecting for the poor who came into London.

[2] By Gasquet.

of £150, it is easy to see that where 27 men and their numerous servants, to say nothing of the fabric and the services, are to be maintained, there will not be a large surplus possible for distribution.

A note or two may be added by way of illustration. Fish in his "Supplication of the poore commons" has a good deal to say about monks. He is not a reliable authority as may be gathered from his abusive language, but he probably fairly correctly represented what he had no inducement to falsify, the miserable condition of the poor in the last years of the reign. Much of the poverty, in his former edition, he attributed to the religious houses; monks he terms "gilted beggars," and now that they are gone he blames them almost as much as before. Then they had, he says, a third of the revenue of the kingdom, now they swell the ranks of the beggars proper. But as the testimony of a hostile writer like Fish is valuable let it be noted that he says:

> 'For although the sturdy beggers get all the 'deuotiō of the good charitable people from them yet 'had the pore impotent creatures some relefe of 'theyr scrappes, where as nowe theye have nothyng. 'Then had they hospitals and almeshouses to be 'lodged in, but nowe they lye and storve in the 'stretes. Then was their number great but nowe 'much greater[1].'

Note.

The monastic provision for the poor has been shewn to have been early contemplated by Law[2], *e.g.*

[1] Fish, *Supp*ᵉ. *of the Poore Commons*, p. 291. (So printed in B. M. copy.)

[2] Cf. also in App. to *Churchwardens Accounts* (Som. Rec. Soc.

3 Edw. I. c. 1 recites the fact of their being founded for charitable objects and forbids the rich to make too great demands on the monks' hospitality, &c.

35 Edw. I. st. 1, c. 1 more particularly as an excuse perhaps for dealing a blow at the alien priors, and

2 Hen. V. c. 1 says that endowments are intended amongst other things "to sustain impotent men and women Lazars men out of their wits and poor women with child and to nourish relieve and refresh other poor people in the same."

It would be hardly fair not to add this note from Toulmin's *Hist. of Taunton*, p. 94 (Savage's edition).

'An annuity of £—— is yet paid by the Crown 'to the parish of Taunton Saint James, and was no 'doubt intended as a provision for the poor that 'were subsisted at the gates of the monastery, where 'real distress was sure of relief, charity being the 'main principle of these pious institutions.'

The Buildings of Glastonbury Abbey.

It is impossible to realize the hospitalities of Glastonbury without reference to the following often quoted account of the Abbey accommodation.

The Great Chamber 72 feet long and 24 feet broad.

The Abbot's Chamber.

The Second Chamber.

The Third Chamber.

Publ. vol. 4) the statutory requirement in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. of a contribution for the poor from impropriators.

The Fourth Chamber.
The Fifth Chamber.
The High Chamber called the King's lodgings.
The Wardrobe under the King's.
The Second Chamber next the King's.
The Third Chamber.
The Fourth Chamber.
Two chambers called the Inner Chambers.

The Prior's Lodgings.

The Hall.
The Kitchen.
The Chapel.
The Buttery.
The Prior's Chamber.
The Inner Chamber.
The Bakehouse.

The Farmerer's Office.

The Hall.
The Buttery.
The Kitchen.
The Chapel.
The Inner Chamber.
The Cook's Chamber.
The Still House.

The Almoner's House.

The Inner Chamber.
The Buttery.
The New Chamber.
The Chamber over against it.

In another office.

A Hall.

A Chamber.
A Chamber called Paradise.
The Inner Chamber.

The Friar's Chamber[1].

The Doctor's Chamber.
The Bishop's Chamber.
The Chapel.
The Buttery Chamber.
The Monks' Chamber.
The Parlour.

The Sexton's Office.

The Chamber hanged with Green say.
The Jubiler's Office.
The Friary Office.
The Dairy House.
The Sub-Almoner's Office.
The Bakehouse belonging to the Sub-Almoner's Office.
The Bishop's Chamber.
The Inner Chamber.
The Cellarer's Chambers.
The Red Chamber.
The Green Chamber.
The Broad Chamber.
The Chamber next to it.
The White Chamber.
Paulett's Chamber.
The Fourth Bed Chamber.

[1] Thus Dugdale, as though the chambers following were included under the heading 'Friary Chamber,' which they are obviously not.

The Middle Chamber.

The next Chamber.

The Doctor's Chamber.

Another Hall.

The Mill House.

The Bakehouse.

The Brewhouse.

The Armory where there was a great number of swords guns bullets and other materials belonging to that office.

The Convent's Kitchen forty feet square.

The Archdeacon's Office.

The Gallery.

The Sextery.

The Kitchen.

Another Chapel.

The little parlour under the gallery.

The Great Hall on the south side of the cloisters 111 feet long and 51 broad; hung at the upper end with a great piece of arras.

The Pantry.

The Buttery.

The Abbot's Stable.

In the great tower seven large bells.

In the High Church a number of costly altars.

In the New Chapel a very fair tomb of King Edgar, copper gilt.

The Altar set with images gilt.

The broad court belonging to the Abbey contained in length 491 feet and in breadth 220 feet[1].

[1] Taken from Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* I. p. 8.

Alms from ordinations and founders at Taunton[1].

In alms distributed, namely every Friday iijs iiijd to the poor according to the ordination of Bp Henry Blesans, per annum ..... viijli xiijs iiijd	
On the anniversary of the said Henry, in four quarterly payments of xiiijs ijd each ... lvjs viijd	
In alms given to the poor by the ordination of Willm. Gyfford, some time Bp of Winchester, namely every Sunday xiiijd...lxs viijd	
On the anniversary of Thomas Bekyngton, some time Bishop of Winchester...xxxixs iiijd	
According to the ordination of John Aisshe of Staffordell .....liijs iiijd	
Of the gifts of divers others, viz.:	xljli ixs
Sir Wm. Bondevyle .....xxxs	
Thos. Mawdelyn, clerk.....vis viijd	
Margery Froment, widow ...xiijs iiijd	
John Prescote .....xiijs iiijd	
Walter Dowlynge .....xxxiiijs viijd	
John Tose ....xviijs iiijd	
Roger Hill .....xxjs	
To seven poor persons residing near the Priory House yearly .....xxxiiijs	
To four of the poor of Staffordell by the ordination of John Lord Zouche, John Lord Stourton, Wm. Yorke, late Prior of Taunton, with others .....xijli iiijs	
On the anniversary of Baldowin sometime Bp of Winchester, and on Maunday Thursday xxs iiijd	

[1] From the *Valor* (i. 170), Taunton Priory. It may be well here to recollect the letter in Chap. I. as to Cleeve. Cf. also Warton, *Life of Sir Thos. Pope* 28 and 29, and, *The maner of the world now a dayes*, Percy Soc. vol. 1. A most interesting picture of England after the Dissolution is drawn in a letter of Starkey printed by the Early Engl. Text Soc. (Extra Ser. xxxii. ed. Herrtage xlviij.); note also pp. xciv and xcv.

CHAPTER V.

Education.

England, says Milman[1], was almost a land of schools. Every cathedral and almost every monastery had its own. Further there were schools presided over by independent masters. Many churches had schools attached to them, the boys learning in the church itself or in the porch. So Mr Drane[2], who adds that the children of the rich had a chaplain as well as the old henchman deputed to look after their studies. It is in fact certain that the main part of the education in pre-reformation times was clerical. And this is not affected by the fact that a few endowed schools had been founded. But the real difficulty is to know whether there really was much teaching done, whatever may be the tradition. It is certain that there was some. For instance when Lilleshull was dissolved we find among the accounts[3] 'It to iiij^{or} gentylmens sones.....xiijs iiijd,' given doubtless to help them to get home again. And Father Gasquet, in an article, in a recent number of the Downside Review, upon Abbot Cooke of Glastonbury, mentions the testimony of an old man who had been brought up there. Throughout the

[1] *Hist. of Latin Christ.* 3rd ed. viii. 155. See also Taylor, Introd. to *Index Monas.*

[2] *Christian Schools and Scholars*, 543 and seq.

[3] R. O. Aug. Off. Misc. Books, vol. 172. For this reference I am indebted to Mr W. Boyd.

middle ages the monks must have had some system of teaching or how is the testimony of so many of their scholars to be accounted for? Certainly the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were monastic in organisation; they are so still in fact; and nothing is more sure than that by way of exhibition the Houses supported poor scholars at the various Colleges[1]. Thorold Rogers[2] says 'I am convinced that they (schools) were attached to every monastery, and that the extraordinary number of foundation schools established just after the Reformation of 1547 was not a new zeal for new learning, but the fresh and very inadequate supply of that which had been so suddenly and disastrously extinguished.' And again in 1562 the Speaker of the House of Commons drew a doleful picture of the state of Education in England.

> 'And being encouraged by these like examples, and others, to enter into some abuses used in this realm, I will only speak of three, being all three notable monsters—Necessity, Ignorance, and Error. Necessity is grown amongst ourselves, so that no man is contented with his degree, though he hath never so much; but where she is (as the proverb saith) she has no Law; for how now be all schools, benefices, and other like rooms furnished, and yet those for schools so few, that I dare say a hundred schools want in England which before have been? And if in every school

[1] In vol. 1 of the Registers of the University of Oxford (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), ed. Boase, an account will be found of the Early System of the Universities; a most interesting sketch is that of Wood contained in his *Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxf.* vols. i. and ii.

[2] *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, I. 165.

there had been but an hundred scholars, yet that had been ten thousand; so that now I doubt whether there be so many learned men in England, as the number wants of these scholars.

The second monster is her daughter Ignorance; for want of ten thousand scholars which these schools were the bringers up of, and want of good school masters, bringeth Ignorance; but the occasion of these two monsters, is for want of livings and preferments; for covetousness hath gotten the livings, as by impropriations, which is a decay of learning. For by it the tree of knowledge groweth downwards, and not upwards, as it was first meant, and made for; and groweth thereby greatly to the dishonour both of God and this Commonwealth. The Universities are decayed, and great market towns, and others without either school or preacher; for the poor vicar hath but only twenty pound, and the rest being no small sum is impropriate; and so thereby no preacher there, but the people being trained up and led in blindness for want of instructions become obstinate[1].'

This speech is remarkable on more grounds than the allusion to education. It is a striking testimony to the misery which the new era of contract at first of necessity introduced; everyone looked backward to what pleased him best in the past without real-

[1] Dewes's *Journal*, ed. 1682, 64, 65. With this may be compared Starkey's Letter alluded to in the last chapter. Starkey had begged Henry to apply part of the dissolution profits to education. Cf. also the very remarkable extracts in Extr. Ser. xxxii. of the Early Eng. Text Soc. Publ. from the Forrest's Pleasaunt Polsye of Princelie Practise, especially pp. xcij, xciij.

izing how impossible it was for the old relations to continue; in fact without realizing that the change had come before they had appreciated the fact, and that the dissolution was one of its earliest and greatest results.

Bishop Hobhouse[1] says that in the way of popular education he cannot find any trace of the convents conferring any benefits. This opinion is certainly to some extent confirmed by what information we have as to the period just before the reformation. The chantry priests were too often 'indifferently learned,' all wills appear to have been drawn up by the priest[2], the accounts which are so numerous were the work of the bailiff, the churchwardens regularly paid someone to write what they obviously could not read[3]. But still the question cannot be considered as a settled one as to monks; nuns most people allow to have done a good deal of teaching[4]. The tradition was present, was it acted on or was it not? A good many difficulties would be solved by simply believing that the majority of monks were too ignorant to teach; and certainly some were so, perhaps many. That there were frequent breaches of the Rules is clear, but this is by no means sufficient.

Every monastery where teaching was carried on

[1] See his Introduction and Appendices to vol. 4 of the *Somerset Record Society's Publications*. Cf. Strype, *Memorials*, I. i. 532 'The rich also had education here for their children.' Whitgift I. 6 '(Whitgift) was in his young years bred up with his uncle, the Abbot (of Wellow), who had several other young gentlemen under his care for their education; and there (as was usual in those times) trained up in some petty skill in song.'

[2] *Wells Wills*, ed. Weaver, passim. [3] See Hobhouse, *u. c.*

[4] See Hugo's *Mediaeval Nunneries of Somerset* for his views on this subject.

had to deal with two classes of boys, those intended for a religious life, often presented at a very early age[1], and those who meant neither vows nor orders. The former must have been present in every monastery that was to continue its numbers, and the office of master of the novices was a very important one[2]. It must be held by an old man who saw that the novices wanted nothing and by the Norman Institutes shaved the boys and the boys him. The master had to wash the very little boys also[3].

As to others; as well as novices there were always a good many children about a monastery. The family life of the monks was made a subject of satire by the profane. Boys for the choir were there and people's children from the neighbourhood. Tanner[4] says plainly that every convent had some one appointed for the purpose of Education and that all the neighbours might have their children taught grammar and church music free of charge. Probably all were taught in the 'song school' of which the following description is given. "This school was built within the church, and was neatly wainscotted within round about two yards high, and had a desk from one end of the school to the other to lay their books on. The floor was boarded for warmness and round about it long forms were fastened in the ground for the children to sit on: and the place

[1] Fosbrooke, p. 176.

[2] Fosbrooke, 132. The monasteries certainly gave a chance of rising in the world to clever boys of the vicinity. Cf. Hobhouse, *u. c.* Adam de Domerham is an example.

[3] Fosbrooke, p. 132.

[4] Pref. to his *Notitia*, and Drane, p. 549. We hear of a sort of school at Canterbury in connection with the Almonry, Fosb. 244.

where the master sat and taught was all close boarded for warmness. His office was to teach the six children to sing and play on the organs every principal day when the monks sang their high mass, and at even song: * * *. The master had his chamber adjoining to the song school, where he lodged, and his diet in the Prior's Hall, among the Prior's gentlemen, and his other necessaries were supplied at the common charge[1]."

What was taught? Grammar and church music we have had; this for the neighbours' children, perhaps more music practical as well as theoretical for the choir than the rest[2]. The novices were again on another footing. Their training was a matter of rule, and though, as has been said, monasteries were founded to be academies of virtues rather than sciences, a good deal else than virtue was learned: not merely grammar, writing and psalmody, but much more practical matters, accounts, in early times fortification even, at all times handicrafts of one sort and another[3]. Bulls were sometimes neces-

[1] Fosbrooke, 273, quoting Davies. The above seems to imply, but not necessarily, that the song school was only for the choir-boys, but that can hardly have been so. It would have been mere waste of time when they were doing anything else than music to have had two masters at work.

[2] Cf. *The boke of Curtasye*, ed. J. O. Halliwell (Percy Soc. 1841), p. 7:

> 'Yff that thou be a 3ong enfaunt,
> And thenke tho scoles for to haunt,
> This lessoun schalle thy maister the merke,
> Cros Crist the spede in alle thi werke;
> Sythen thy *Paternoster* he wille the teche' &c.

[3] Fosbrooke, 184. See there as to the Berwick monk who was a clock mender.

sary in the middle ages to get monks to write[1], but they took more kindly to hunting, building and architecture, and above all metal work, for which Glastonbury was famed[2]. Manners too were very fairly attended to[3].

If a novice were apt at learning he must be sent to the university, not an expensive course in those days, especially if the scholar eked out his allowance by begging. The great monasteries had special lodgings for the members of their houses while in residence at Oxford and Cambridge[4]. Beyond all doubt the monks did some work in the country in the way of familiarising the people with scholarship and encouraging such as took kindly to it.

The method of teaching has been represented as harsh and dreary, so wanting in humanity because so little of a humanizing tendency was taught. Thus Compayré[5], while quoting many exceptions, speaks of the pre-renaissance system of education. Drane[6] however does not think so, and all we know of the Benedictines who were great schoolmasters makes us agree with the latter view. Beating there was, and a good deal of it for the novices. "They were beaten in their chapter," says Fosbrooke[7], as though it were

[1] Théodore Fritz, *Système d'Instruction*, III. 313.

[2] Fosb. 184. [3] Drane, 552.

[4] Cf. Wood, *Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford* (ed. Gutch, 1796), ii. 67, 69. The chapter in Mabillon (*Traité des Études Monastiques*, 1691, Pt. I. ch. XII.) leaves the impression that the education given in the Houses was only designed for members of the same; cf. Willis and Clark, *Arch. Hist. of Univ. of Camb.* i., xlvj and sqq.

[5] *History of Pedagogy*, 76.

[6] *Christian Schools and Scholars*, 549.

[7] p. 181.

common; and again, "when the Abbot was present "in the choir, no one beat or stripped them without "his leave; but in his absence the chantor might "correct them in matters relating to his office, and "the Prior where they behaved with levity," which looks as though the rod was frequently used. "There "is no other difference, except that the rods in the "fifteenth century are twice as long as those in the "fourteenth[1]."

The choir had hard work, often night services and the like, while the novices had to wait at table and to attend to the sempectae. The food was liberal; meat always till the boy was fourteen. If the monks had been cruel it is not likely that we should find so many young people employed in the monasteries. Drane[2] gives a pleasant little couplet from some monastic fragments, which says a good deal for the kindliness of the fathers—

> Wrath of children son be over gon,
> With an apple parties be made at one.

But it is obviously idle to blame the monks for not teaching more than was commonly known in their day[3]. On the other hand it may be noted that the class which in all probability had had most knowledge of their life, by an elementary education in the Religious Houses, was afterwards the very

[1] Monteil, *Histoire des Français des divers états*, from Compayré.

[2] *Chris. Schools and Scholars*, 547. It must not be forgotten that Drane has a theory to support.

[3] 'What was taught in the monasteries was perhaps of no great importance, but still it served to keep up a certain degree of necessary knowledge.' Warton, *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, 148.

class but for reliance on which, Henry would have found his task, for the time, impossible. Nothing is more striking than the complete want of any standard of morality, as distinguished from mere dogma, which is observable in the 'Letters and Papers', 'A good servant to his grace', and 'a good husband' and 'one who keeps good hospitality' we often have. Good men from the point of view of our own day are referred to rather with pity than approbation. It seems clear on the whole that Mr Gairdner struck the true note in pointing out the strength of the notion of allegiance. This, the relic of the Feudal Age, intensified by the belief that Henry's cause meant England's cause, and coupled with an observation of the practical advantages of following Henry, overpowered every other feeling; gratitude, parental affection, vows, all were forgotten. That it was so says little for the religious teaching of the time; or perhaps it shews rather how the teacher taught what he was wanted to teach, and reflected the tendencies of the age in which he lived.

In the preamble of the statute[1] which led to the suppression of the chantries we read—

> "And further considering and understanding "that the alteration change and amendment of "the same (that is the chantries, &c.) and con- "verting to good and godly uses, as in erecting "of Grammar schools to the education of youth "in virtue and Godliness, the further augment- "ing of the universities and better provision for "the poor and needy, cannot in this present par-

[1] 1 Edw. VI. c. 14 pr.

"liament be provided and conveniently done,
"nor cannot neither ought to have [been to ?]
"any other person to be committed than to the
"King's Highness whose majesty with and by the
"advice of his highness' most prudent council,
"can and will most wisely and beneficially both
"for the honor of God and the weal of this his
"majesty's realm, order, alter and convert and
"dispose the same[1]."

Later in the same statute[2], among the powers given to the commissioners, we find—

"And also that the same commissioners or
"two of them at the least, by virtue of this Act,
"and of the commission to them directed, shall
"have full power and authority to assign and
"shall appoint (in every such place where guild
"fraternity the priest or incumbent of any chan-
"try in esse the first day of this present parlia-
"ment by the foundation ordinance or the first
"institution thereof should or ought to have
"kept a grammar school and so hath done sithen
"the fast of St Michael the Archangel last past)
"lands tenements or other hereditaments of
"every such chantry, guild, and fraternity, to
"remain and continue in succession to a school-
"master for ever for and towards the keeping of
"a grammar school and for such godly intents

[1] Thorold Rogers says (*Econ. Interpr. of Hist.* p. 357) that the grantees of the monastic lands were put under the condition of endowing schools with part of what they received. There is no trace of this being anything more than good advice in Somerset.

[2] 1 Edw. VI. c. 14 pr.

"and purposes and in such manner and form as "the same commissioners or two of them at least "shall assign and appoint."

In the survey we find out how necessary some such provision was if the chantries were to follow the monasteries. Take the following examples—

CHARD.

The free scole there sometyme callyd the Chauntrie of the Trinitie there.

Landes tenementes & other hereditamentes nowe in the holding & occupying of sondery persones as maye appere more at large by the rentall of the same	is yerely worth in ixli
whereof in	
Rentes resolute paid yerely to sondery persones	xviijs ixd
and so	
Remayneth clere	viijli xvd
None.	plate and ornaments

Sir Hughe Paulet K^t^ & Henry Cricke holden of the kings ma^tie^ certayne customary landes parcell of his Graces manor of Crukerne aforesaide videlt too partes of the landes callyd Crafte[1] graunted unto theym by copy of Court Rolle for terme of their lives after the custome of the saide manor to the use of the Trinitie & mayntenaunce of the saide school, by the surveiors of the late attaynted M'ques of

[1] It would be interesting to gather together all known names of fields for comparison of those borne in the 16th century. These names were not given haphazard and often throw light on early endowments.

Exiter then Lorde of the saide manor whiche landes be worthe yerely over & above xl shillings paide to the manor of Crewkerne aforesaide for the rent and farm of the same lands .....xls

John Byrde scole m^r^ ther a man of honest conversacion well learned and of goodly judgement doth much good in the countrie in vertuouse bringing uppe, & teaching of children having at this present xx xx vi or vii[1] scolers, receyved the whole proffects for his wages & thenhabitauntes ther be most humble suters to have the saide ffree scole contynued w^t^ augmentacion of the saide scole m^r^ his lyving.

TAUNTON[2].

Thenhabitauntes of the towne of Taunton aforesaide the vi^th^ daye of Aprill an^o^ RR. E. VI^ti^ ij^do^ made humble request unto the comyssionors in maner & forme followinge, Wher ther is w^tin^ the saide towne of Tawnton, being the greatest, & best market towne in all that shire in a verray holsome good & plentyfull soyle a fayre large and goodly howse newe buylded erected & made for a Scolehowse about xxv yeres nowe past wherein was a Scole M^r^ and an ussher founde the space of xij or xiiij yeres, for the vertuouse educacion & teaching of youthe, as well of the saide towne of Taunton, as of the hole contrye to the numbr of vij or viij score Scolers by the Devocion of one Roger Hill of the same towne merchaunt nowe deceased. A great Relief also to the same towne of Taunton. And nowe sythe the deathe of the same Roger Hill the saide Scolehowse standyth voyde, w^tout either M^r^, ussher or Scolers, to the great preiu-

[1] *i. e.* 120 or 140.

[2] Green, The Survey, *Somerset Rec. Soc.* vol. 2, passim.

dice hurte & discommoditie of the commen welthe of the saide Shire. Whereuppon the saide enhabitauntes make most humble sute unto the Kinges ma^tie^ that yt may please his highness to graunte, & assigne suche landes and tenementes in perpetuytie as shalbe thought mete unto his grace & his most honorable counsaile to the mayntenance and finding of a Maister & ussher, to teache in the same Scole howse which no doubte is most bewtyfull and most necessarie place of all that shire[1].

Bridgewater[2].

Thenhabitauntes ther make their most humble peticion to have a free grammer scole erected ther.

Brewton.

Thenhabitauntes of the towne of Brewton aforesaide the xx^th^ daye of Aprill anno R. RS. E. vi^ti^ ij^do^ made humble request vnto the Commyssionors in maner and forme following. Wher ther was w^t^in the foresaide towne a faire Scolehowse for a free grammar Scole, newly buylded erected & made in the xi^th^ yere of the reigne of oure late soueraigne lorde of famous memory Kinge Henry VIII^th^ by Richarde Busshop of London, John Fitz James, & John Edmundes Doctor of Dyvinitie, who did gyve & assigne to the mayntennance of the same Scole, lands and tenementes to the yerely value of xij li for the vertuouse educacion & teaching of the yewthe as well of the saide towne of Brewton as of the hole contrie, nowe decayed by reason that Heughe Sherwoode late Scolemaster ther surrendered the saide landes into the Kinges majes-

[1] A curious petition considering the existence of Taunton Priory.

[2] The Survey, passim.

ties handes vi or vij yeres nowe past, who indevoring hym self rather to lyve licentiously at will then to travaile in good educacion of yewthe according to the godly foundacion of the saide Scole, founde the meanes by his saide surrender to obtayne by Decre out of the courte of augmentacions of the Revenues of the Kinges majesties Crowne for terme of his lyffe one annytie or pencion of Cs & the foresaide Scolehowse, w^t^ a gardeyn, & a close of lande thervnto adioynyng contaynyng by estimacion iiij acres lyinge in Brewton aforesaide, discharged also therby of eny further ffree teaching or keping of Scole ther, to the great Decaye as well of vertuouse bringing uppe of yewthe of the saide shire in all good lernyng, as also of thenhabitauntes of the Kinges saide towne of Brewton of great relief that cam therby. Wherfore the saide enhabitauntes made moost humble sute unto the Kinges majestie that yt may please his highnes of his bounteouse liberalitie to restore the saide Scolehowse, landes and tenementes to the vse godly purpose and intent of the foundacion of the foresaide Bysshop, John Fitz James, & John Edmundes.

These complaints which appear in the Survey have received a guarantee from their very presence there, being as it were backed up by the commissioners themselves. They disclose a certain need which was but poorly attended to.

A free grammar-school was founded in Bath out of part of the possessions of the dissolved abbey in the year 1553. It was a small school intended for ten poor boys and connected with a kind of almshouse. That it has since become more important is

due of course to the increased value of the land from which the income was derived[1].

The Bridgwater grammar-school, which was also free, was not established till 1561 by Queen Elizabeth. It may claim a connection with the monasteries in that it was maintained by a charge on the tithes. That charge was fixed and the school necessarily languished until assisted by private donations[2].

Bristol has not hitherto been treated as belonging to Somerset, but it may be mentioned that the great free-school there was of private foundation, by the will of Thomas Thorne, although it is true that it was endowed with lands of a hospital which the executors probably got at a cheap rate[3].

Bruton, as we have just seen, sent up a petition, and was further one of the few places which benefitted by so doing. The old school was re-established on a slightly larger scale; its revenues were £11. 5*s*., and it struggled on till the present time[4].

Crewkerne free-school was not of Edward's foundation though of his time. It has nevertheless been about the most successful school in the county[5].

Edward himself founded Frome school in the Forest of Selwood, endowing it with £6 per annum, to which some five pounds more was afterwards added. By endowment this school is connected with other charities, showing that the pre-Reformation ideas were not forgotten[6].

[1] Carlyle, *Endowed Grammar-Schools*, p. 400.
[2] *Ibid.* 402. [3] *Ibid.* 404. [4] *Ibid.* 418.
[5] *Ibid.* 425. [6] *Ibid.* 426.

Of the remaining schools Ilminster was founded in Edward's reign, Langport and Martock were restoration foundations. Taunton grammar-school is said to have been founded by Fox, Bishop of Winchester[1], in 1522, who gave the appointment of its master into the hands of New College, Oxford. He failed however to appoint any fund towards the salary of the said master, from which circumstance Wm. Walbee, a clerk who died in 1554 leaving money for that purpose, may be said to be the second founder[2]. But no part of the funds came from Taunton Priory, which passed from Colthurst, the original grantee, to the Mores and thence to the Winters[3].

There is some credit in the above recital, but very little. Edward was not so rapacious as his father and he was but little kinder. From the chantries he secures a revenue of over £900 a year, while £25 would cover the total annual value of all his Somerset educational foundations.

[1] The connection between Taunton and the Bishops of Winton dates from the Conquest. See the valor of Taunton Priory.

[2] Toulmin, *Hist. of Taunton*, p. 195. [3] *Ibid.* p. 90.

CHAPTER VI.

Agriculture, Labour and Prices[1].

The feature of the Agriculture of the sixteenth century which strikes one first perhaps is the immense importance which it had in comparison with other industries. There are obvious reasons for this, and it is very generally acknowledged by writers from Fitzherbert's day to our own. Among the reasons which may be enumerated for the prominent position which husbandry occupied in the sixteenth century are such as the following. It was a wool period, hence a period to some extent of large farms. Much was done then on an estate which would not be attempted now, such as brewing, the annual saltings of meat, and the making of clothes. Further, agricultural products were the staple articles of export. One must add too that owing to the system of farming more men were required than is the case now, one of the effects of which must have been to give prominence to the farmsteads as centres of their little districts.

[1] See for this subject Thorold Rogers' *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* and *History of Agriculture and Prices;* also Dr Cunningham's *Hist. of British Industry and Commerce*, sec. v.

There is no doubt that in early times the monks were the greatest benefactors to agricultural communities that could have been devised. One is afraid that the letting of their farms must have interfered with this just before the dissolution. In earlier times there was plenty of vigour. 'Teachers of Agriculture,' says Thorold Rogers[1]: perhaps that to some extent in all ages. The Benedictines, of whom Somerset was full, were always famed for husbandry, as were the Cistercians for wool. The rules encouraged all this, especially in the days when Misericorde was not so common. We read of very sumptuous monastic feasts, often held by a strained construction and avoidance of the monastic code, which must like even the ordinary feeding of such large establishments have necessitated great management of supplies[2]. If the rule were not broken there was every

[1] *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, p. 362. But let it be remembered that the abbots came in for a certain amount of condemnation in respect of the sheep-breeding question. A Quarterly Reviewer says, "The suppression of monasteries by Henry the 8th "is frequently represented as the cause of much of the misery "which prevailed among the labouring classes of that period, but "the effect of this measure on the poor is grossly exaggerated. "It ought to be recollected that the monasteries fed only those "who were poor and idle already; whereas the engrossing system" (he means making one large farm out of several small ones) "made thousands idle who had formerly been industrious. We "see moreover from Sir Thomas Moore himself that many of "the monastic establishments had themselves adopted the new "system; 'Holy Abbots also,' he distinctly says, 'had cleared "away and discarded their tenantry to make room for sheep.'"

This writer, however, considers the period which follows the Elizabethan poor law as one of the happiest in the annals of our rural population, which is more than doubtful.

[2] Fosbrooke, 218.

inducement to attend to fowl-keeping; we may note that it was attended to from the fifteenth century pigeon-house. Fish-culture was undertaken considerably. One notes in the Glastonbury Certificate the "Games of Swans," "Game of Fish," and so forth.

Road making is attributed to the orders[1], and when they went the complaints as to the filth of the highways begin to be frequent; but these were rather occasioned by neglect consequent on the decay of the country towns. But there was little driving in Henry's time, so that a road would be much more easily kept in order than in the eighteenth century.

We hear much of monastic gardens[2]. "This done (prime) we are sent to work in a garden, to work and delve for near two hours more," says one who thought it a hardship. He should have remembered that under some rules the working and delving continued till vespers[3]. Complaints are made that at one house the monks are allowed against the injunctions of the visitors "to have portions, pensions and private gardens[4]."

Granges or country farms, far away, were common, shewing a love for rural life; indeed it was often complained that when an abbot got off to one of these pleasant places it was very difficult to make him come back to his convent[5]. Fosbrooke tells of a Norman abbot who whiled away two whole years in Devonshire this way. The monks then at some

[1] Th. Rog. *Econ. Interpr. of Hist.*
[2] Fosb. 279. [3] *Ib.* [4] *Ib.* 279.
[5] *Ib.* 271.

periods were active farmers or directors of farm work. Amusing regulations occur, designed to keep them at work and yet preserve their modesty. Women must milk in the fields, not in the monastery, and if possible they are to be neither young nor pretty. Carpenters, bricklayers and those whose work lay aloft to wear breeches[1], naked legs being always considered injurious to sanctity, as may be seen from Fosbrooke's account of the sleeping attire; breeches and bed socks.

When all the pleasant monastic system disappeared, Somerset would probably suffer more than most counties: from its remote position it would not be much visited, and it had more than its share of monasteries. Perhaps the long stagnation of agriculture as an art is in some measure a result of the dissolution. Rogers says that little progress was made in agriculture throughout the sixteenth century[2]. But this rather probably arose from the fact that the monks just before the dissolution, and for some little time before it, let most of their farms, and managed those they had on their hands by "surveyors[3]." Had they been devoted to farming personally much more would have been found out as to cropping and stock and, above all, manuring. As it was it is well known that there was but little difference in the *mode* of cultivating adopted by a tenant-farmer in Henry's reign from that used under

[1] Fosb. *Brit. Mon.* Those in the fields need not come home to service but say some short prayers there.

[2] *Hist. of Ag. and Prices*, IV. p. 39.

[3] Fitzherbert has a book on these surveyors.

Edward the Fourth. It was in James the First's time that the great advance was made. Dissolution does not necessarily mean lower farming either. A new man will farm as well as the old one if he means to stay long and, as most of the leases were respected, the man in actual occupation of the land was often not changed at all. Still a great many of the Somerset houses became farms instead of mansions, such as Muchelney and Taunton, and others went to great men who were rarely long in the country, so that it seems likely that the old *régime* might have done more had it continued, especially as time went on the pressure of the debasement told on the fixed customary rents which made up the incomes of the convents so largely. The influence of such a large body of country gentlemen as the monasteries contained was an educating influence in any case.

That things were very stationary can be seen from the two editions of Fitzherbert[1], the one published in 1539, and the other, said to be amended and added to, in 1562. The latter has little that the former has not; after going carefully through them both it will be found that practically there is no difference, although twenty very important years had elapsed, and although the title suggests that if there had been anything new to learn it would have appeared.

The only new branch of agriculture which was introduced during Henry VIII.'s time was the cultivation of the hop[2]. At a period when no tea was in

[1] *The Booke of Husbandrye.*

[2] Th. Rogers, *Ag. and Prices*, IV. 57.

use this was a matter of some importance, but not as affecting the monks, who were gone before the cultivation became general. Their drink had been beer, occasionally wine, chiefly of this country. Wine from grapes was occasionally made[1].

The monks, as has been suggested, were just before the dissolution but little in contact with the practicalities of agriculture. And that because of the leasing that was common. The revenues came from rent paid by free or customary tenants or by leaseholders; even the conventual farm itself was often leased. Still there was more than might be supposed from this account to interest the monastery people in the details of cultivation. For one thing, they continued a method of letting termed land and stock leasing after lay owners had given it up. Further, a great deal of their income was to the last paid in kind, especially as money was scarce before the debasement; Chantry priests got a good part of their living paid in kind, whether it were valued in that way or not. But then again the monastery people at all events leased these kind payments where they could. Leases of corn tithe for instance are common.

Deduct as one may, all this managing shews considerable intricacy of accounts and general aptitude, especially in connection with the tithes from mills and woods.

The secular manager was very common. Mr Soper, of Taunton, did all the superintendence for the monks at Athelney, getting forty shillings a year for the work. From the results of his managing

[1] Cf. Harrison's *Survey of England* (New Shakesp. Soc.).

it seems as though he made but a poor business of it[1]. There was plenty of private weaving, but though we hear of it all over Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, and right down in the south near Crewkerne, it is never in connection with the church authorities. The monks in fact were languid. At Glastonbury, as the letter of Fitz James shews, the letting of the farms was given into the hands of one of the brethren, who was probably a highly educated lawyer.

The dissolution, by scattering all the estates, the tithes to this man, a pension or fee farm rent to that, and the land again to one and the stock on it to another, did a good stroke perhaps for the country, but tended, by enriching the rich and rendering leases invariable where formerly only common, to take away the wealthy classes from agriculture as a pursuit. The stock being of so much value too, made the yeoman prefer to lease rather than own his farm, leading, taken together with the debased coinage and the concentration of holdings, to the overthrow of the yeoman class altogether. It is quite certain that the very rich man no longer farmed more than a very small part of his land. Just below that class there was a good resident

[1] The numerous letters begging for freedom after the Injunctions of Legh and Layton shew that a prior had a good deal of country work to do. In the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. (ed. Gairdner) many such will be found directly stating that the prior had occasion to go abroad among his tenants in order to manage for the convent. It is stated on the preceding page that the Stock and Land Lease required a certain attention to agricultural affairs; this because the stock must be valued at the close of the term.

gentry, the Westerns and Allgoods, but they again did not farm as a business.

The consequence was the long-continued backwardness of the country districts, of which stagnation there are abundant proofs[1]. The Somerset plough which Fitzherbert talks about was very slowly abolished. The mattock long remained the great instrument of cultivation. The marshes continued in their wild state until quite modern times, and it does not seem as though the sea were kept out yet. Great forests, which were regularly planted, especially by the higher classes, as an investment, long continued to annoy the inhabitants, as may be seen from a petition from the inhabitants of Petherton that their crops be not spoiled by the too numerous deer in the royal wood there. That there was a great deal of land not properly cultivated may be seen from the great variations in the rents paid to the chantries in the beginning of Edward the VI.'s reign for pieces of ground of similar areas.

It is no doubt a simple way of solving a difficulty to assume that the decline in the prosperity of the working classes, which went on in the sixteenth century, was a direct result of the dissolution, but there is every reason to suppose that such was not the case. Fish complained of the growing poverty both before and after the suppression, and there is no reason for supposing that the fact of the monastic estates changing hands did more than accentuate a change in the relation of employer to employed, which was itself connected with move-

[1] See Chap. VIII.

ments of nearly a hundred years' growth. The break up of the feudal system, the larger introduction of the element of competition into the labour world, the holding of large farms on lease, will sufficiently account for the consequent misfortunes of the labourer, and all this had been spreading during the whole of Henry's reign and before it. The disappearance of the convents formed a convenient peg upon which men who found themselves harder driven by new masters could hang complaints, and the tendency to attribute grievances to concurrent rather than connected events is not confined to any century[1].

The effect of the dissolution on the position and life of the agricultural labourer must in the end have been largely beneficial, though attended in the immediate results with much misery. It is a commonplace to say that such has been the effect of every great economic change. There was here no tendency, as in France, to ultimately produce a class of peasant proprietors. No one means that, when he says of the dissolution that it brought more land into the market. But there was a tendency towards a weakening of the manorial jurisdiction, and much of the wretchedness which filled the reign of Mary

[1] It is curious to note the turns of an honest if somewhat rash man, such as Latimer, in his attitude. The poverty of the times which he cannot account for properly is sometimes put down to one cause sometimes to another. This of course in his sermons. It must never be forgotten however that life was much simpler in the Tudor period than in our own, and that Acts of Parliament had more excuse, because more efficacy, in remedying social evils.

was due to the corresponding loss of the advantages of the manorial relation before there was any well regulated scheme to take its place. If the certificate of the surveyors of the king's lands which concerns Glastonbury[1] be looked over, it will be seen that a great many men are returned there as unfree. That is to say, in almost every manor of that noble property we have, after the enumeration of the rents of assize, demesnes let out to farm, woods, parks and commons, a heading 'Able men to serve the King,' which from the context must refer to the ordinary able-bodied free population below the rank of gentlemen. There then follows another paragraph which runs thus :—

"Bondmen.

"Also there are appertaining unto the said "manor certain men called bondmen whose bodies "and goods are always at the king's pleasure as "lord thereof to the number of—"

At Glastonbury there were 14 such, at Mere 15, and so on. In Somerset, connected with this abbey alone there were 97 returned in the above manner. Now it cannot be doubted that these praedial serfs would reap some benefit from the change of masters[2]. We know that they had all been emancipated by the time of James the First.

As to wages. Here again it is difficult to speak with accuracy, or even with a meaning. All that is

[1] Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* I. 11.

[2] This view is confirmed by A. Amos (in Taswell-Langmead, *Const. Hist.*), who quotes in support Sir Thos. Smith's *Commonwealth of England*, b. 3, c. 10.

said in the following lines must be understood of those labourers whose wage was their living. For many gave part of their time in return for their cottages, and there was more payment in kind than this; much wood given, much food. The general conclusion to which Thorold Rogers comes is this: that the fifteenth century and the first part of the sixteenth was the golden age of the labourer, if we take into account the relation of his wages to the cost of the necessaries of life. There was an eight hours day, and no apparent difference in rate whether the employment were for a long or a short period[1]. It is not difficult to account for all this. As to the high wages, the coinage was still fair, and the labourers few because of the plague and the wars; moreover, custom had far greater influence on prices than it had in the middle of the sixteenth century. As regards the rate of wages. Again it has to be insisted on that, if this were the golden age of English labour, it was also a period of customary wages. That this was so needs no proof; an illustration of it may be found in the power of London Guilds of the time in the matter[2]. And few men would be employed for short periods in the country, the relation of master and servant being still in a way a feudal one: who

[1] Thor. Rog., *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 327 and passim.

[2] Of course the *number* of workmen was limited in London. Probably too there was as much difference in the sixteenth century as there is now between the country and the town labourer. For it is curious to find the lowest class labourers fully organized; the Hogglers were certainly formed into gilds, cf. Hobhouse, Churchwardens' Accounts, 251.

will say for instance that rent in the fifteenth century was not marked by something more than the modern idea of purchase of accommodation? it was in fact a feudal payment.

The rate of wage throughout this high period was something like 6*d.* per day for artizans, and 4*d.* for agricultural labourers, who received 6*d.* however in time of harvest[1].

It is curious then in the full view of all this prosperity to suddenly come across complaints of the decay of agriculture. The reasons for this were various.

The enclosure of commons was an introduction of the 15th rather than the 16th century, but perhaps was not much noticed then on account of the general prosperity of the working classes. But it was noticed. And in the 16th we have a long series of Acts upon the subject, shewing that it was felt to be a grievance. There is no doubt that it was a distinct subtraction, whose value could be measured in money, from the incomes of the labourers. At the present time if a freeman of a town with a common, such as Newcastle, has a right of pasture for one cow, it is worth at least £10 a year; and the loss of such a privilege is a serious one to a workman's family.

[1] Thorold Rogers, *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, cap. XII. passim. It may easily be believed that the rates of wages in pre-Reformation times are often deceptive, because of the large number of villeins. Free labour may have been scarcer and dearer than we suppose. Of course the effect of the Black Death was all important.

But very important was the rise in prices. Between 1520 and 1600 there was a great difference in the price of the ordinary articles of diet and clothing, a difference due, in the last years of the century as Mr Rogers has pointed out[1], to the inflow of foreign silver, making the money of the country have far less purchasing power than it had, whatever were the power of the government in forcing a token coinage on the people. Just at the critical period came Henry's debasement of 1543, the effects of which were incalculable. Although prices were rising fast, wages, as is always the case, were only rising slowly, and when they had to contend with both the rise in price and the debased coinage, but one result could follow, which was loss to the working classes. Had the old currency remained wages, especially as in time the effect of the dissolution in breaking down customary labour began to be felt, would have accommodated themselves to the altered state of the silver market. As it was, the dissolution did something by the time of Elizabeth, but everything was against the workman, a paternal government, no organized unions of any kind, gross ignorance, that utter incapacity for more than one branch of industry with which the modern admirers of the mediaeval craftsman are so fascinated. No more labour was required, one would think rather less, as villeinage became extinct. The monks with their charities, uneconomic, but comforting, were gone. The guilds were gone too, the only benefit societies then dreamed of, and the only institutions which trained

[1] *Economic Interpretation of History*, 343, &c.

the operative in habits of combination. Altogether the middle of the century was a time of great misery[1].

[1] Thorold Rogers, *Six Cents.* c. XII., and *Ag. and Pr.* vol. IV. passim.

The following extract from 2 and 3 Ph. and Mary, c. 12, seems to point to a want of agricultural work:—

"An Act for the sealing and viewing of cloths commonly called Bridgwaters.

"Where before this time the boroughs and towns of Bridgwater, Taunton and Chard, in the County of Somerset have been well and substantially inhabited, occupied, maintained and upholden for the most part by reason of the making of woolen clothes, commonly called Bridgwater, Taunton and Chard clothes, which in time past were much desired as well beyond the seas as in the realm of England, and thereby the inhabitants and poor people of the said boroughs and towns and of the country thereabouts, were daily set on work and had sufficient living by the same, and where also the said towns in times past were of great force and strength to serve the King and Queen's highness' progenitors and ancestors kings of this realm: (2) forasmuch as of late days divers persons inhabiting and dwelling in villages, hamlets and small towns of husbandry in the said County of Somerset, which were never prentices or skilful in making of the said clothes as well for their private wealths and commodity as also because they would be out of due search of their clothes to be made according to the statute therefore provided, not regarding the maintenance of the said boroughs and towns nor the commonwealth of the handicraftsmen and other poor people which chiefly had their living and sustenance by making of the said cloth, have of late days exercised, used and occupied the mysteries of clothmaking weaving fulling and shearing within their houses, and have so deceitfully made wrought and stretched the said clothes to the infamy and slander of cloth-making in such sort and manner that not only the same sorts of clothes are grown out of estimation, but also the said towns are in great decay ruin and depopulation."

"II. For remedy wherefor be it enacted by the authority of this present parliament That no person whatsoever inhabiting or which shall hereafter inhabit within the said county shall after

It is difficult to assert anything very certainly about the prices in the Tudor period as influenced by the dissolution. The personal property of the monks of Somerset which was sold in the county was not enough to cause any disturbance in the general range, and besides, there was such poor furnishing all over in good houses and bad, that all the monastic chattels were at once absorbed. All, that is to say, that did not go up to London, whence a good deal that was precious was exported. The price of land will be glanced at in the next chapter, but there must be a certain relation between land and stock, if indeed, as has been said, all prices be not functions of the price of land. The stock of the monasteries, where did it go? This brings too the question of the land and stock lease in its train. The monks, like the colleges, continued the land and stock lease in a few cases right down to the dissolution time. This tenure was an anachronism. It succeeded the system of the landlord farming with gangs of labourers and provided for a time when it was absolutely necessary that the landlord should furnish the stock. From the circumstance of this form of holding still subsisting, it follows that a much larger proportion of cattle passed into the royal hands than would have done from a corre-

the feast of the purification of our Lady next coming commonly called Candlemas put to sale any kind of such clothes as is aforesaid, or clothes of like nature making and sort made or to be made within the said county, except such cloth be first viewed, searched and seen in one of the boroughs or towns aforesaid, whether the same be perfectly and truly made according to the statute, &c."

sponding confiscation of lay estates. We know that a good deal of this stock remained long on the hands of the sovereign, through Edward the Sixth's reign at all events. The effect of this must have been to lessen any effect which a large forced sale might have had, though we may fairly surmise that all the chantry cattle were sold off at once.

That the dissolution produced no very sudden impression on the general range of prices may be inferred on several grounds.

In the first place, agriculture being stagnant, rents did not rise at once in any great degree, and a steady condition of the land market would be a counteracting influence opposed to any sudden depression.

In the second place, there was nothing in the fact of corporate property passing into the hands of private owners which would make one suspect any great alteration. The private owners tried, it is true, to raise rents, but they were not very successful. Perhaps the farming was worse if anything after the dissolution than before: such appears to be Rogers'[1] opinion. This does not imply that the doing away with the stock leases, for instance, did not depress a considerable number of farmers into the class of labourers, but they again ought never to have been tenant-farmers in the then condition of things.

Thirdly, the influx of silver outweighed all local causes.

[1] Thorold Rogers, *Ec. Int. Hist.* 266.

Notes.

The following examples taken from Bishop Hobhouse's Churchwardens' Accounts [*Somerset Record Society*, vol. IV.] will give a few indications of what the prices of a few articles were about the dissolution time, rather than of the extent to which they fluctuated[1].

		£	*s.*	*d.*
1501—2	Yatton 80 lbs of wax	2	0	0
1507—8	Tintinhull a cow	0	10	0
1508—9	Yatton 14 yards of linen	0	4	8
1508—9	Yatton 9 yards of buckram	0	3	0
1508—9	Yatton 10 yards of webb	0	0	5
1511—12	Yatton 1 lb of string	0	0	1
1512—13	Yatton 10½ yards of cloth for table-cloths	0	3	11
1512—13	Yatton cloth for the High beam per elle	0	0	8
1514—15	Yatton 3 days plumbing	0	2	0
1515	Pilton ewe and lamb	0	1	8
1515	Pilton 2 loads of wood	0	3	4
1515	Pilton 3 cwt of lead	0	11	0
1520—21	Croscombe 2 ewes	0	3	4
1520—21	Yatton 10 lbs of wax	0	7	11
1520—21	Yatton, lead per ton	3	10	0
1521	Pilton wax per lb	0	0	10
1521	Pilton 6 days labour	0	2	6
1521	Pilton 1 sack of lime	0	0	4
1522	Pilton 10½ lbs of wax	0	8	0½

[1] Thorold Rogers in his *History of Agriculture and Prices* seems to have neglected the West of England, or at least Somerset and Dorset during this period.

		£	s.	d.
1522	Pilton 3½ lbs of wax . .	0	2	11
1523—24	Croscombe 6 ewes[1] valued at each	0	1	4
1523—24	Croscombe 6 ewes . . .	0	6	8
1525	Morebath a sheep . . .	0	1	0
1525	Morebath a sheep . . .	0	1	1
1526	Morebath a sheep . . .	0	1	4
1527	Morebath 3 sheep . . .	0	3	0
1528	Morebath a sheep . . .	0	1	0
1528—29	Yatton 20 lbs of wax . .	0	9	7
1529—30	Yatton 18 lbs of wax . .	0	18	8
1530	Morebath 2 sheep each . .	0	1	8
1532—33	Yatton 18 yards of Irish cloth for houselling-cloth . .	0	5	2
1533—34	Croscombe 10 sheep . .	0	13	4
1534—35	Yatton wax per lb . . .	0	0	6
1535	Morebath a 'ramme hog' .	0	0	10
1535—36	Yatton 3 ells of diaper . .	0	10	8
1538	Morebath a ram sheep . .	0	1	0
1538—39	Yatton 200 boards . . .	0	4	8
1539	Morebath 7 sheep . . .	0	6	8
1539	Morebath a ram . . .	0	1	0
1539	Morebath a sheep . . .	0	1	4

[1] Terms of sheep-lease. 'John Felyppes and Jone his wife vj yows [ewes], and iij ryngs of syl\er. The whych you scheppes beth delyvered unto Hew Morganne for the space of vij yere, the said Hew for to pay by the yere the sum of ijs for to pay hit at the Countt day. If so be as eny of thes scheppe doth dy or mynish, the said Hew pay for them xvjd a pesse, the scheppe be of the age of iiij yere, all of one age, the said Hew for to delyver at the vij yere ende the scheppe or ells...viijs.' [Hobhouse, p. 37; see also p. 40.] It is curious how the lease of stock seems to survive in Ireland. A newspaper commissioner reported recently in the West the case of a woman who rented two hens.

		£	s.	d.
1539—40	Tintinhull 107 lbs of bell-metal[1]	7	5	4
1539—40	Yatton an ell of cloth . .	0	1	3
1539—40	Yatton 2 yards of cloth . .	0	1	3
1541—42	Yatton 80 lbs of wax . .	1	18	7
1541—42	Tintinhull Church Bible[2] .	0	12	10
1543	Morebath a wether . .	0	2	0
1543	Yatton 30 lbs of wax . .	0	15	10

The wardens' accounts from which the above are taken give perhaps the best picture of English village life in the sixteenth century. The most prominent feature of the parochial life is its centring round the village church; and while the traces of monastic influence are singularly small, if indeed present at all, there is from the earliest times ample evidence of that power of local elective self-government which has been probably the secret of the ability with which the constitutional struggles in this country have always been conducted. One of the parishes whose records are preserved, Morebath, was impropriated to Barlynch Priory, but the connection appears to have been merely viewed as a source of revenue to the convent. In 1534 a silver chalice was stolen from the church, but we find no record of the Priory assisting to purchase a new one. We do find however that 'ye yong men and maydyns of ye parysse dru them selffe togethers and w^t^ there gyfts and

[1] This was for the metal of the old Church bells sold to Closworth. Two new ones purchased from Robert Cuffe of Ilchester cost £20.

[2] 32—33 H. VIII. Expenses.

For our new clocke this year bought .....xxxs iiijd.

It for the halfe price of the Bible this year bought...vis vd.

provysyon the bofth (bought) yn another challis wt owt ony chargis of ye parysse.' Eighty-one subscribers contributed 30*s.*, equivalent to £30 of our money[1]. This is not the place to note the activity of the self-supporting, and more than self-supporting, guilds; but nothing can be clearer than the immense loss which the labourer sustained by their abolition, a loss not so much of money as of an aid to thrift and of a principle of association which made life pleasanter, while it did much to make the want of the workhouse unfelt.

Two accounts are given here; the first is that of the expenses of Thomas Ede, warden of St John Baptist's, Pilton, during the year 1515, when important repairs were in progress.

THE COSTE OF THE SAYED THOMAS EDE, WARDEN.

Fyrste payed for Ester lygth wex and makyng...iiijs iiijd
Item for dirige and Masse on saynt Marke day for benefactors .....viijd
Item for mendyng of ye cherche gate.....ijd
Item for makyng off a key to a lytyll cofer .....ijd
Item to makyng off ye klypper to ye lytyll bell and schyttyng a erde [i.e. casting a mould] .....jd ob
Item for ye beying iij bussells off axyn [ashes] ...iiijd ob
Item for ye rungyng of ye cherche laddyr.....iijd
Item for ye makyng of a bawderike[2] to ye lytyll belle...vjd
Item for ye makyng off iiij tapyrs agenst seynt Johne Day .....xvjd

[1] See Hobhouse, *Wardens' Accts.*, p. 209.

[2] Baudrys or Baldricks here either the handle of the bell rope or the leather loop from which the clapper hung. [Hobhouse.]

Item for ij lode of wode for ye plumer .....iijs iiijd
Item for nayles for plumer to nayle ye ledde .....ijs vjd
Item for lathys and bowrde to make ye gutter ...vs iiijd
Item for heryng off workmen abowth churche workes ... ijs iiijd
Item for to John Baron for ye fetyng [fetching] off plumer stuffe att West Penard .....vjd
Item for fetyng off flakes [i.e for the scaffolds] and hurdylls and rede and postes for ye plumer .....vjd
Item for fechyng xv hundyr off ledde at Mendeypp...xijd
Item for ye carryng of ye ledde axyn to Chewton...xvjd
Item for ye clarke for makyng clenne off ye cherch erd and kyppyng off ye clocke .....iijs viijd
Item paied to ye plumer for sowdyr and ys labor..... iij pounds
Item paied to frayry clarke .....xd
Item paied for makyng off iiij tapyrres agenst Crystmas viijd
Item I bowth off Plumley of Septon iij hundyr ledde ye prysse .....xjs
Item for ye fetyng xij hundyr ledde att Mendyppe xlviijs
Item for ye wessing off cherche clothes .....ijs
Item for mendyng and dresyng off iiij bells.....iiijd
Item for mendyng off bere .....iijd
Item for Thomas Edes ys labor the space off xviij days iijs
Item for Master Officiall [the Ordinary's judge] costes att ye visitacion .....xviijd

Sm. vijli xvjs.

The following is the complete account of the high wardens of Morebath for 1526—7 :—

The Cownte of William at Pole and Geffery Smy3th beyng hye wardens of the goodds and the cattyl [chattels] of the hye store of Sent Georgii the ere of owr kyng

and the ere of owr lorde before rehersyd the xxvij day of October madyn.

In primis recets.

Mem. That I William at pole ressevyd at the begynnyng of my wardynscheppe of the wolde wardyns ..... xxij s j d ob

Item I ressevyd agayn of John at Cowrte ys cownte..... v s ij d

Item for the flyes of wolle and the talowe of a lamme v j d

Item we made frely of owr cherche ale all costs quytte... iiij marks v s j d

Item of the gesthe [gift] of John at hayne to the store of Jhu iij yowe scheppe of the wyche scheppe John Norman, senior, hath one and John at Cowrte hathe another, and William at pole hathe the wother [other].

Item John Waterus hathe a yowe lamme of the store of Jhu that came from William Tywell this ere.

Item William Robbyns hathe a yowe hogg of the store of Jhu, also that came from W. Tywell this ere.

Item W. Tywell hathe a yowe of the store of Jhu and her lamme of this ere was delivered to Walterus ut predictum est.

Summa of the wolle of this for sayd scheppe is viij pownde, and lamme-towe of one lame not val (?) pro dec. lame hoc anno et pro dec. ij agnarum debet.

Summa of the scheppe ys v. in nomber and a lamme.

Deb. Item John Dore ys in deb. agayn the cherche for the space of his wardynscheppe as yt ij pownde of wex or xvj d for at hys plesure the whyche he will pay to the new wardyn John at Borston agayn ester next commyng of hys fydelite before the paryche promisyd.

Deb. Item W. Robbyns ys contentyd for hys debt the

whych ys iijs iiijd to bye a new canapy to hong over the sacrament when ye wyll and yff hyt cost more he wyll ley more to hyt and yf hyt cost not so moche ye shall have the reste.

Deb. Item William Hurly of Bawnton [Bampton] to this cherche diu deb .....iijs iiijd

Summa totalis receptionis ys .....£iiij vjs ijd ob

Unde petit allocari pro necessariis Expensis ut sequitur.

Costs.

Item y paid to William Smyrte for fre stone .....ixs

Item for vij pownde of wex for the iij tapers afore the hye crosse and the precessional tapers .....iiijs

Item for iiij bell ropps .....ijs xjd

Item for payntyn of the lente clothe and the rowde [rood] clothe after the bequysthe of John at Borston .....ijs

Item for iiij yerds of lyne[n] clothe for the sepulture with the hemmyng of the same.....xvd

Item for makyn of ij gurdylls for the vestments and for mendyng of the coppe .....ijd

Item for mendyng of the bell collers and for thongg...ijd

Item for grese for the bells for the hole ere .....ijd

Item for settyng yn of the borde to the cherche-howse scev [? seven] fotte and the barys of the quire dore iiijd

Item for vij pownds of wex for the pascall taper and the wyvyn [? wives'] taper .....iiijs jd

Item for ij yryn bars for the quire dore and a pare of twysts for the hache .....xvd

Item for the cherche ale howse dore loke and for the settyng .....viijd ob

Item for a dirige for the benefactors of this cherche iiijd

Item for the cherche howse rent for this ere .....iiijd

Item for mendyng of the ij rachetts for the clerke ...ijd

Item for makyn of the pascall taper .....ijd

Item for makyn of all wother wex all this ere paste that belongyth to the hye wardyns .....vjd

Item for francke and sensse [frankincense] and for wyke yerne for the hole ere .....ijd ob

Item for iij powndes of wex for the presessonall tapers and for Jhu his taper .....xxijd

Item for the payntyn of the sepulture clothe .....xxd

Item to the plommer for mendyng of the gutter apon the cherche, and the gutter of the towre yn mette and drenke and wage .....xxiiijs ijd

Not [Notes] the plommer. And here after he to mayntayne and kepe the same gutters and to fynde hemself and the sawder to his own propper coste and charge, exseppte that we doo new caste hyt and he to have for hys fee at Lammas of us ijs if hyt rayne not yn to the cherche thorffe [through] hys defawte.

Item to Andrewe for cuttyng of wode and for caryeng of same .....vijd

Item for nayles to nayle the ledde .....vijd

Item to the raers for rayng the grette stoke in wages ... xxjd

Item for their mette and drenke for that wyke .....ijs

Item for ij pounde of wex .....xiiijd

Item for a sake of lyme caryge and all .....xd

Item for a hylyer[1] to mende the towre and the almatorye[2] yn mette and drenke and wages.....xjd

Item for ij crests for the almatory but a .....jd

Item for wrytyng of this acownt with all wother acconttes of this cherche by the ere.....jd

Summa totalis £iij xiijs iiijd ob[3].

[1] Tiler.

[2] One of the aisles of the church was so called. [Hobhouse.]

[3] Accounts might have been chosen from Bishop Hobhouse's Collection which would give a fuller view of the life of the villagers,

The depreciation of the coin has been mentioned at p. 305. No better illustration of its effect can be given than the following extract from the Yatton wardens' accounts[1]:—

The wardens received from the old wardens, Dale and Durban, 1550—1 a balance of .....£vij vjs iiijd
Whereof there must be allowyd for y^e^ fall of y^e^ money in y^e^ same year .....£iij vjs iiijd
And so remaineth clear .....£iiij

but they would necessitate some explanation of the various guilds which in this essay are hardly more than mentioned.

[1] Churchwardens' Accounts [*Som. Rec. Soc.* 4], p. 162. Cf. Notes and Queries 1st Ser. XII. 306. In the accounts of the Wardens of Saxilby the following item twice appears (in 1551) 'In allowance at the fall of the money, iijs. vjd.'

CHAPTER VII.

The Tenure and Distribution of Land and its Value.

On what tenure did the monasteries hold their land? The usual answer is that they held it in frankalmoign or free alms, a kind of holding known on both sides of the Channel before the Conquest. It is to be wished that the matter were as simple as this. Cruise[1] says that most of the monasteries and religious houses held by this tenure, and yet nothing is more certain than that it was one of William's great changes to make the abbots and priors do fealty and hold fees by knight service[2]. Still Wright[3], who certainly speaks with authority, talks of monks as unable to hold proper feuds, while in every account it is manifest that there were money services in the way of rents yearly paid by the monks

[1] *Digest*, I. 44.

[2] Burton, *Introd. to Monas. Ebor.* 33. The Abbot of Muchelney held by one knight's fee service and paid the usual aid to Henry II. See Hugo, *Much.* p. 7. See also an Article on Frankalmoign by Prof. Maitland in the *Law Quarterly Review* for Oct. 1891. From Prof. Maitland and Bishop Hobhouse I have had very kind assistance.

[3] Tenures, 29.

to one and another. It might be thought that the original grants were many of them in knight service, but that as time went on a great number of estates were left with no other condition than that prayer should be offered for the soul of the giver, and the fact that a power of distraint existed if such services were not duly kept up supports this view. It is clear that many ecclesiastics held by knight service, as Prof. Maitland notes in the essay referred to[1]. Thus it will be seen that the point is not quite clear. It may be suggested however that frankalmoign appears to have been possible although a small rent was paid[2], or rather that land was let to monks at a very low rent, and in this way probably, together with a great deal of land held in socage, would the monastic estates be chiefly held. That the monks were great buyers of land is not probable, they had far too much given to them to be that[3], but still they must have bought some estates, and others they would acquire so that they held them on the same terms as the former owner. This will perhaps account for most of the payments which they had to make, though there must have been a constant tendency for such payments to cease.

An example of a gift in frankalmoign is easily furnished.

[1] Cf. Lyttleton, S. 140.

[2] Th. Rog. *Ag. and Pr.* iv. 94.

[3] In the 15th cent. the Chron. of Albion says that of 75,000 knights' fees the clerical population had 27,005. Th. Rog. *H. of Ag. and Prices*, iv. 113.

"Know men present and future, that I Robert "son of Hugh de Wude have given and granted and "by this my present charter have confirmed to God "and St Mary, and the monks of Clyve for the "health of my soul and of all my ancestors and "parents and heirs, for a pure and perpetual alms a "certain part of my land to wit, by these bounds "(here follows the description). And whatsoever I "had within the aforesaid bounds, with the ditches "aforesaid, I have given to the aforesaid monks with "all its appurtenances. And I have given them in "addition the right of common pasture in all my "land of Wude saving the corn and meadow land "from the Kalends of April to the time that it is "reaped and stacked, for three hundred sheep and "for sixty swine with free entrances and exits, and "with all the liberties and free customs and ease-"ments in all things and places pertaining to the "same vill. All these aforesaid tenements and pas-"ture I have given to the aforesaid monks free and "quit of me and my heirs, and released from all land "service and secular exaction for ever. And what-"soever is due from thence to the king or to any "other man, I and my heirs will discharge and war-"rant it by our other tenement to the aforesaid "monks against all men and all women. And be it "known that the aforesaid monks at my decease "shall do service for me as for a monk, and, if it "shall please me, shall receive my corpse for burial. "These are witnesses Robert Fitzurse, John his son "and others[1]."

[1] Hugo, *Charters of Cleeve*, no. 17, p. 39, cp. no. 4. p. 9.

Some of the charters reserve a rent[1]. For example, in 1335 letters patent were issued setting forth that William Earl of Salisbury, lately deceased, had given the manor and hundred of Dulverton with all its appurtenances by his indenture to the prior and convent of Taunton, to be held in fee farm by them and their successors on their paying to the said Earl and his heirs £10 a year: that the said Earl had founded the monastery of Bustlesham and had enriched it with sundry manors, lands, tenements and rents: that he had given to that monastery the sum of ten marks out of the aforesaid £10, and the remaining five marks to the custos of the chapel at Donyate, and that the Prior of Taunton had to pay to each, the ten and the five marks respectively, and so forth[2].

This illustrates not merely the reservation of a rent, but also the way in which the small pensions, of which every monastic balance sheet can shew specimens, arose, and again it shews how easy it was for a reserved rent to be assigned to some religious use[3]. A glance at the valor will shew how many religious foundations were charged with payments to each other, over and above what one may term mortgages, such as appear in the Abbot of Athelney's schedule[4].

[1] Hugo, *Cleeve*, 13.

[2] Hugo, *Hist. of Taunton Priory*, 45.

[3] Charters are often found releasing rents that had been reserved.

[4] It is curious, by the way, to notice in that schedule how the Abbot is ready to bind the house for debts which mainly arose from his own mismanagement.

At the dissolution there were multitudes of these rents left, indeed no one who has ever looked at the valor can hold the opinion that the monks got their lands for nothing. The undying grip of a corporation, the rule[1], the crusades[2], the piety of twenty generations; all these were assisting influences in favour of the monks, but they had not extinguished the customary payments by any means. Take an example from the accounts of Taunton Priory, which appear in Hugo as reprinted from the valor.

Esse. (Ash Priors.)

	£.	s.	d.
Value in Assized[3] Rents of the customary tenants	7	3	9
Demesne lands	10	3	2
Out of this a rent annually to William Francis	0	7	0
To the Lord of the Manor of Bishops Lydyard	0	1	0

So now clear £16. 18*s.* 11*d.*

Willond.

Assized rents of the customary tenants	7	9	10
Demesne lands	7	18	4
Out of this annually to the Lord of the Manor of Holberton . .	0	3	7

So now clear £15. 4*s.* 7*d.*

[1] See Fox's *Translation of the Rule of St Benedict*, or the same in Dugdale, vol. I. p. xlvii. Art. *de non alienandis*.

[2] See Milman, *Lat. Chris.* Bk. VII. cap. VI.

[3] This word indicates that a return in kind or services has become fixed. It properly refers to rents which have been fixed for good and all, subjected to commutation either by agreement or prescription, in fact returns for land which the Lord cannot hope to take in the variable way which he did in the days before they were assized.

The dissolution came and it has often been assumed that all the manors were granted out free of this complex burden of small annuities. But this cannot have been so. Just before the majority of the houses were dissolved we find that an immense number of grants were made by the various convents, in the hope presumably of staving off destruction, as they are made to notable people in the district. All these appear in the decrees of the court of Augmentation. Cleeve and Worspring for instance give pensions, money, sinecure offices, such as stewardships of manors, advowsons, and to such people as the Sydenhams of Brimpton, Sir John Seyntlo, and the Luttrells[1]. We may be sure that these would be respected. We may be sure, that is to say, that any subsequent grant would be made subject to them, in fact the third section of the Act of 1535 expressly reserved the rights of such persons. And yet there is no doubt that where it could be done grants would be secured free of these troublesome outgoings[2].

As to the tenure by which the grantees held, in some cases it was socage[3], generally so in fact, a point of great importance, as will be seen later. And where expressed otherwise it was often really socage[4]. Thus Humphrey Colles took a great part of the

[1] Decrees of the Court of Augmentations, 28 and 29 *Hen. VIII.* vols. 1 and 2.

[2] See Hugo's *Canyngton*, 98.

[3] E.g. part of the Taunton Estate. See Toulmin, *Hist. of Taunton*, p. 88.

[4] It appears that the grantees tried to evade the payments due yearly to certain ecclesiastics which were charged on the land; hence 24 and 25 H. VIII. c. 19.

possessions of Canyngton nominally for the service of the fortieth part of a knight's fee, but practically at a small rent, resembling a quit rent, and fixed[1].

Still monastic property had never been quite the same as other property. It was more mixed. The great tithes often went with the estate and then came the obligation to support a chaplain[2], which many would try to avoid. But after all the tenure of those who received grants was not a matter which concerned the happiness of the people nearly so much as did the conditions of letting to those who were in actual occupation of the soil.

The property of the monks, as may be seen from the valor, consisted in all kinds of holdings. As far as concerned the tenant, the manorial relation is still the great relation, and we have only to go through an example to shew the significance of the valor's terse and abbreviated description.

	Middleton val*et* in	
Redd*itibus* tam libe*ror*u*m* tenent*um* quam cust*umariorum* lxijs vjd terr*arum* d*omi*nica*lium* xijs et terr*arum* d*omi*nica*lium* in manu d*omi*ni rema*nentium* xli ult*im*a xls p*ro* feodo Steph*ani* Stroude balle*ri* ib*id*em sic nu*n*c clare	xi xiiij vj	£. d. xij — xiiij
P*er*quis*itionibus* cur*iarum* et al*iis* casual*itatibus* ib*id*em	vj viij	

[1] Hugo's *Particulars in Canyngton*, p. 98; *Buckland*, p. 167; *Barrow Gurney*, p. 70. In the last case it is distinctly asserted that the bailiff's fee is bought up, the king giving compensation.

[2] See Finlason in Reeves' *Hist. of Eng. Law*, vol. III. p. 297, and see the next chapter of this essay.

The meaning of this small account will be perfectly clear to those who are accustomed to look over Court Rolls. The king's surveyors in the course of their peregrination through the diocese of Bath and Wells have arrived at the deanery of Taunton, in the Archdeaconry of the same name. They have to make a return of the yearly value of Taunton priory. The great roll of the convent property is produced, and so far as relates to Esse and Westowe it is pronounced correct and copied into those note-books which afterwards formed the celebrated Valor Ecclesiasticus. But as to Middleton. Here the convent holds a manor; they are lords of the manor of Middleton in fact, a manor consisting, as all the old books used to have it, in demesnes and services. Demesnes are those lands which the lord, when the manor is first granted to him, keeps in his own hands. And it was necessary for him to have a good deal of demesne for many reasons; such as the fact of there being no suitable tenants to whom he could grant it out to; or perhaps because it was as well to keep a good deal in his own hands so as to reward any one in future times who served him faithfully; or again he might be fond of agriculture, or the only person rich enough to farm good land properly. All this before the days of Edward the First. But the monks who possessed many manors, how did they manage the demesne lands in each? The answer is that they did not manage them at all, but as since the Act of 18 Edw. I. they could not grant any more of the demesne out to free tenants in the old way, making the same tenants thereby owners, they used

to lease the demesne lands out to farmers. But at Middleton this usual course was only partially followed. The demesne farm was partly let for 12 shillings a year, and the rest, which the commissioners valued at £10 a year, they kept in their own hands, farming it by an agent or bailiff whose salary of forty shillings is duly deducted from the proceeds of the estate. So much for the demesne, the nucleus of the manor. It ought, we may observe, to have had a manor house upon it, and would have had if it had been the property of a layman; this non-residence being one of the evils of the monastic system. Sometimes there was the house, but it was let, or perhaps the bailiff, a man like Stephen Stroude, lived in it.

A manor consisted, we have said, of demesnes and services. We have dealt with the former and now turn to the services of the tenants. These tenants hold land of one of two kinds; that is to say, they either hold by free tenure and are freeholders, or by base tenure and are copyholders. Once only free men held freehold land and only villeins held by copy, but at the time we are speaking of all that had passed away; a gentleman might hold copyhold as well as freehold[1]. The freehold tenants paid, it will be seen, a rent, and so for the matter of that did the customary tenants, and it all added together in Middleton came to sixty-two shillings and sixpence. Long before this, the cus-

[1] It was not till the present century that a similar change was entirely effected in Germany. Everyone has read of Burgher lands and so on.

tomary tenants or copyholders performed certain services, which were considered unworthy of a free man, in return for their land, and that was why their tenure was termed base, but this had all disappeared, and both freeholder and copyholder[1] paid money for their land. That is to say, they were supposed to. Practically corn was often taken instead, because there was not much money in use at all. What each man in the manor had to give for his land was put down in a large volume or roll, called the court roll, and the copyholder's only title to his land was a copy which he had of the part in the roll which concerned him. From its convenience, as we shall see directly, this title to land was used in other cases.

Below the ordinary proceeds of the manor will be noted a heading, perquisitiones curiarum, &c., which means perquisites from courts and other casualties, a sort of drag-net which landed one large fish and a good many small ones. In every manor there were two courts held, the court baron or court of the freeholders of the manor, and a customary court or court of the copyholders. These courts are important when the history of the administration of justice is under investigation, but they are important for other purposes. They were in fact an important source of revenue to the lord. Any copyholder who wished to sell his holding to some one else had to pay a fine to the lord of the manor, and also had to pay when-

[1] This is one idea, but the old services seem to have been kept up sometimes, as may be seen in Blount's work. Cf. Thorold Rogers, *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, 449.

ever there was a change of ownership, as by death. In some manors no fee simple estate in copyhold was possible as we know it, the tenements being held for what we would call renewable lives, forcing the tenant to beg, as it were, for a new grant of his land when his predecessor died. All this was carried on in the customary court. In the court baron, long before this, things had been managed much in the same way; the consent of the lord had to be bought for each transfer. But it had had a meaning at a very much earlier period than the proceedings in the customary court, where tenants before Edward the Fourth's time were really tenants at will; and the consequence was that the payments were very small and not perhaps always demanded. Besides these payments in court there were other little customary receipts, such as the sheaves we noticed when speaking of one of the chantries[1]; and at Middleton, taken altogether, these payments amounted to 6*s.* 8*d.*

It may be asked what is the item 'fines terrarum ibidem,' which appears to yield 30*s.* at Westowe and yet is not found at all here? These words refer to a custom, a great bar to accurate statistics, of accepting or rather demanding a certain sum of money down in consideration of giving a man a long lease,

[1] Or things waived, heriots and other customary dues, an account of which may be seen in Blount. It will be evident to a student of land tenure that the above account only scratches the surface, and begs all the difficulties. The common fields are not alluded to. But the subject is really too wide and I am not able to treat it and hence have almost left it alone. Cf. Thorold Rogers in the *Economic interpretation of history*.

or a low-rented lease, or perhaps any lease of land at all. The reason why it does not appear here is that at Westowe there was 49*s.* 10*d.* worth of land let on lease, whereas at Middleton the rent of it was but 12*s.* Still a fine might have been expected for even so small a lease as that.

As to the effect of the dissolution on all this. Thorold Rogers places the date of the introduction of rack-renting, as a system, at the beginning of the sixteenth century[1]; certainly everything favoured the rack-renter. The leases were usually short[2], and there is no doubt that fines were practically unknown in the fifteenth century[3]. The advance in this item is enormous and is reflected in the complaint of Fish. From being only a present, a fine came to be regarded as a serious burden to the incoming tenant; and of necessity, when competition began to work on rents with the increasing population, rents were lowered and future generations, for whose benefit the fine would rarely be invested, were defrauded. The system of fines tended however to fixity of tenure, indeed the time when it was usually exacted was on renewal. The writer of the Coles MS. XII. in the British Museum relates that the monks took no fines and raised no rent. If they took no fine or took but a small one, and let largely by the stock and land lease, it would seem to imply that the tenants were poorer than those on other estates, and hence, it seems to me, the great outcry soon after the dissolution. The

[1] *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, p. 296.
[2] *Ibid.* 295. [3] *Ibid.* p. 297.

enclosures (in the sense of making a number of small holdings into one large one) received every encouragement by the ejectment of the small farmers who, when the stock had been sold and a fine required every renewal, would be easily rooted out. What is known as an 'easy landlord' proverbially has bad tenants, and if the conditions on monastic estates were more comfortable than those on others, it only meant an anomalous and backward, rather than an ideal, state of things is indicated[1].

What system of leasing prevailed? The stock and land lease had died out simply because the land had become more valuable at a much greater rate than the stock upon it, though the ratio was probably not what it is now[2]. The form of lease was much what it is now, as will be seen from the illustrations, but leases were made in other ways than we employ. To begin with, writing was unnecessary[3], but no late monastic leases would be made without the evidence of a deed. We find, however, from FitzJames' letter as to Glastonbury[4], and from the complaint of Fish, that leases were often made by copy of court roll. This was a convenient method. Everything that went on in a manor was entered there; the changes in the copyholders, who after all are but demesne tenants, and the changes of freeholders. In fact nothing is more probable than that

[1] See Cunningham, *History of English Industry and Commerce*, pp. 468 and sq.; also for occasional bad management, Jessopp, Introd. to *Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich*.

[2] *The Survey*, p. 52; *The Rental*, p. 225.

[3] Until Charles the Second's time.

[4] Given in Cap. 1. See also 35 H. VIII. c. 13.

this method, which was used at Glastonbury, was also employed at other houses.

Nothing is more certain than that the dissolution had the most important influence in popularising and extending leasehold tenure in England. In spite of Quia Emptores, or perhaps because of it, and in spite of all the old difficulties of tenure, most of the richer agriculturalists owned their land in the fifteenth century. It was only otherwise with those who had monastic lands. Why then did the system spread? It did so for three reasons, so far as can be gathered. In the first place because a great many owners made a compulsory acquaintance with its advantages[1]. In the second because it is a tenure which, if not abused, and while land culture is in the hands of comparatively poor men, is eminently convenient. A more subtle reason for its extension is to be found in the decay of the feudal tenures so rapidly proceeding.

As to the first. It seems that long leases were at first confined to the religious bodies. In the XVIth century they were granted by the convents in considerable numbers owing to a well grounded fear of coming trouble[2]. It is said sometimes that a fraudulent advantage was taken of the system of fines, and long terms consequently taken at a low rent[3], but there does not seem much proof of this[4] so far as can be gathered from the conventual leases

[1] Reeves' Editor, *Hist. of Eng. Law*, III. 220.

[2] *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, 297.

[3] *Hist. Ag. and Prices*, vol. IV. Introd. 29.

[4] See the illustration. But Reeves' Editor has an important note in his 3rd vol. on the point.

in the Record Office, but still that it was an idea of the period may be gathered from the elaborate provisions in the dissolution Act upon the subject of the alienations which preceded the general confiscation[1]. These acts of confiscation, however, provided for the general recognition of the leases that had been honestly entered into[2], and this was the secret of a great multitude of land-owners becoming acquainted with this mode of holding.

Once known, it spread as its advantages were recognized. The grasping, it is to be feared, found in it an opportunity of oppressing, and it saved the small gentry the trouble of cultivating their own land. Further, leasehold property began to assume in lay hands what it had long had in the eyes of ecclesiastics, a great deal more importance. And yet at the same time the difference now began to be strongly marked between freehold and leasehold property. Mr Thorold Rogers has[3] indicated this point with perfect clearness: he points out that

> "there was little difference between a term-
> "inable and a perpetual lease, as far as the
> "charge on the lessee was concerned, and that the
> "real difference, discovered later on[4], when the
> "money value of a fee farm rent was seen to be

[1] The letters from visitors often make it a ground of complaint against heads of Religious Houses, that they have granted improvident leases. This may be seen from the Calendars of Letters and Papers.

[2] 31 H. VIII. c. 13, s. 4; 27 H. VIII. c. 28, s. 3.

[3] *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, 292.

[4] Madox quotes old long lay leases in the *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 144, for instance, but they must have been rare.

"fixed, and that of a renewable lease was seen to "be elastic, lay in the precarious nature of the "latter."

That this was used to the detriment of the lessee there is no doubt, but the introduction of leases as a general and flexible form of ownership and as differing from the holder at a fee farm rent, was an important step in the economic history of this country.

Further, leaseholds not only became common on lay estates, taking the place, as Fish complains, of the old customary tenures, but leaseholding became at once improved. When the abbey lands passed into lay hands, it was seen that the benefits of the covenants contained in the old leases did not pass to the man who had taken the place of the convent. As lawyers would say, the benefit of the covenants (for payment of rent proper, farming and the like) did not run with the reversion. To remedy this we have 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 34. The mere fact that this act was necessary goes far, one would think, to shew that long leases were not commonly used by lay owners before the Reformation. In the case of short ones the remedy is in the new landlord's own hands while, as there was no assigning of conventual reversions, such did not require any Act, both parties being by the undying nature of a corporation privy to the deed.

As to the decay of the feudal system, that had been patent enough for some time back. The time of the wars of the Roses may be said to have been the last period when the theory of tenures was a com-

plete working whole. In Henry the Eighth's day the incidents were but an excuse for the collection of small sums of money from time to time. But as the feudal tenures lost their reality, we may be quite sure that they lost their popularity, if they ever had any admirers. And leasehold would, seeing that demesnes could be leased by a lord and all freeholds by a freeholder, or copyholds by a copyholder, come as a welcome relief from the effects of the Statute of Quia Emptores.

So much for the effects of the dissolution so far as concerns Leaseholds. We turn now to the other parts of the manor, the effect of the same series of events on the freeholder at a quit-rent and on the copyholder. But before doing so, it would be well to glance at Fish's remarks upon Tenure published just after the dissolution had been accomplished.

"And no merueil for ther is in sted of these sturdy beggers, crept in a sturdy sorte of extortioners. These men cesse not to oppresse us your highnes pore comons in such sort that many thousandes of us, which here before lyued honestly upon our sore labour and trauayl bryngyng up our children in the exercise of honest labore are now constrayned some to begge some to borowe and some to robbe and steale to get food for us and our poore wyves and children. And that whych is most lyke to growe to inconvenience, we are constrayned to suffer our chyldren to spend the flour of theyr youth in idleness, bringyng them up other to bear wallettes, other eles if thei be sturdy to stuffe prisons, and garnish gallow trees. For such of us as have

no possessions left to us by oure predicessours and elders departed this lyfe, can nowe get no ferme tennement or cottage at these men's handes without we paye unto theim more then we are able to make: yea, this was tollerable so long as after this extreme exaction we wer not for the residue of our yeares oppressed with much greater rentes then hath of ancient tyme bene paied for the same groundes, for than a man myght within few yeres be able to recouer his fyne and afterwarde lyue honestly by hys trauel. But now these extortioners haue so improved theyr landes that they make of xl s fyne. xl pounde, and of v nobles rent v pound, yea not suffised with this oppression within theyr owne inheritaunce: they buy at your highnes hand such abbay landes as you appoint to be sold. And when they stand ones seased therein they make us your pore comons so in dout of their threatynges that we dare do none other but bring into their courtes: our copies taken of the couents of the late dissolved monasteries, and confirmed by youre hygh court of Parliament, thei make us beleue that by the vertue of your highnes sale all our former writynges are voyde and of none effect And that if we wil not take new leases of them, we must then furthwith avoid the groundes as having therin none entrey.

"Moreover, when they can espy no commodious thyng to be boughte at your highnes hand: thei labour for and optayne certayne leases for xxi yeres, in and upon such abbay landes as lye commodiously for them. Then do they dashe us out of countenaunce with your highnes authorite, makyng us be-

leue that by the vertue of your highnes leas, our copies are voyde, so that they compell us to surrender al our former writinges wherby we ought to holde some for ii and some for iii lyves and to take by indenture for xxi yeres, ouering both fynes and rentes beyonde all reason and conscience. This thinge causeth that suche possessioners as here tofore were able and used to mayntain theyr owne chyldren, and, some of ours, to lernyng and such other qualities as are necessarye to be had in this your highnes royaulme, are now of necessite compelled to set theyr owne children to labour, and al is lytle inough to pay the lordes rent and to take the house anew at the end of the yeres, so that we your poore commons which haue no groundes, nor are able to take any at these extorsioners handes can fynd no way to set our chyldren on worke no though we profer them for meat and drink and poore clothes to cover their bodies[1]!"

The freeholders of the manors cannot have felt the change of lords very much; they could not be injured particularly, their rents being certain. This is the class, the only class perhaps, which flourished throughout the period, for the simple reason that their rents had become fixed when land was at its lowest in comparison with stock, and every year tended to make them more nominal. The result has been that, though it is perfectly well known all over England who the owner of a piece of land is, it is not by any means certain who the lord of every

[1] Fish, *The supplication of the poore commons* [paged 291 in the B. M. copy].

manor may be, and this notwithstanding the fact that to be lord once meant as much as to be an owner. More, if we use the word owner in our sense of freeholder, as the lord was a branch higher in the feudal tree.

Still, as may be surmised from Fish's remarks, those who took abbey manors did their best to improve their position. In Harrison's description of England, a work which appeared in 1587, many notes of discontent are to be found when a chance occurs of saying anything of the land system of the country. Thus[1], in the chapter on the poor, one of his classes of paupers consists of idle beggars made poor by others' covetousness, of whom he says:

> "Idle beggars are such either through other men's occasion or through their owne default. By other mens occasion (as one waie for example), when some covetous man, (such I meane as have the cast or right veine, dailie to make beggers inough wherby to pester the land,) espieng a further commoditie in their commons, holds, and tenures, doth find such meanes as thereby to wipe manie out of their occupiengs and turn the same unto his private gaines. Hereupon it followeth, that although the wise and better minded (doo either forsake the realme for altogether, and seeke to live in other countries, as France, Germanye, Barbarie, India, Moscouia, and verie Calecute, complaining of no roome to be left for them at home,) doo so behaue themselues that they are worthilie to

[1] Bk. II. p. 215, Ed. *New Shakespeare Soc.*

be accompted among the second sort; yet the greater part, commonlie hauing nothing to staie upon, are wilfull; and thereupon doo either prooue idle beggers or else continue starke theeves till the gallows do eat them up, [which is a lamentable case."

This suggests one of the discomforts to the small freeholder at all events, which was accentuated by the dissolution and has already been touched upon in another connection, The Enclosure of Commons. A sample will be seen of what happened in many places in the example set by the king at Westmonkton[1]. It is quite a mistake to suppose that it began with the dissolution, or even with the sixteenth century, the necessities of wool-growing of the fifteenth having suggested it long before[2]. Fitzherbert complains of it in his description of a manor. But that it was inevitable there is no manner of doubt, though there was no reason why, like the profits of so many other economic changes, the value of the enclosure all went one way. Common of pasture is but one of several kinds of common; all commons are a legacy from the system of village ownership, which gradually became impossible. There were fewer impossibilities or inconveniences attaching to common of pasture than to the others (common of piscary, turbary, wood), and so it lasted longer, but in its most extensive form there is no doubt that, standing alone, it would have proved a serious obstacle to the improvement of agriculture.

[1] See illustrations to this chapter.

[2] *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, p. 444.

From J. Norden's account[1], in the form of a dialogue, it is plain that the difficulty as to enclosure was a burning question in 1608, but by that time there was less vagueness as to the lord's rights, and this vagueness had been one secret of his earlier power. Harrison, before his time, has a hint on the subject[2]: "And yet some owners still desirous to inlarge "those grounds [as either for the breed and feeding "of cattell,] do not let dailie to take in more, [not "sparing the verie commons whereupon many towne-"ships now and then doo live]."

We may take the term enclosure in either of the two senses in which it was used[3]: either, that is to say, as meaning the hedging in the separate plots of land, or as throwing open a large tract for a sheep run. In each case the process had begun before the effects of the dissolution could possibly have been felt. In each case the change was an economic necessity, and in each case again we can say with certainty that the dissolution made the change more easy to accomplish. That the change was cruelly carried out is quite clear; it is not merely the cry of the poor, but of the rich. No one, even in the sixteenth century, who examined the matter at all carefully could doubt that the

[1] Ed. of *New Shakespeare Soc.* p. 179.

[2] *Description of England*, Bk. II. cap. XIX.; cp. Bk. I. cap. XIX.; also ch. 32 H. VIII. c. 14, p. iv.

[3] Cf. Cunningham, *Hist. of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, ed. 1890, Bk. v. chap. v.; also *The Compendious or briefe Examination of certayne ordinary complaints*, attributed to William Stafford, ed. F. J. Furnivall (New Shakespere Soc.), especially pp. 15—17, 33, 34, 40, 41, 42, 43, 83.

hedging in of separate parcels of ground was for the general advantage; but the other kind of enclosure, the abolition of rights of common whether for pasture or tillage, excited much more indignation, and even now it is not uncommon to read suggestions that the more primitive form of land-tenure was of greater national advantage. But I cannot think so. With the growing unreality of copyhold tenure the common system slowly became an anachronism. It has always prevented the free transfer of land. It would, if preserved, have tended to conserve the notion that England was an agricultural country, and by fixing the population have proved a bar to that movement, which has not been the least important civilising agent. It may be objected that the change is somewhat of a sham, which drives people from their homes, pauperizes and often kills them by starvation for the sake of a future which none of them would live to see, but economic changes are always times of misery, and most will allow that the changes reduced the amount of villeinage. It is not quite correct, surely, to say either that enclosures raised rents[1]. The rents rose, no doubt, from many causes; harsher landlords, the fall in the value of money, and the better management of an estate, as a business, must be taken into account.

The preamble of 3 and 4 Edw. VI. cap. 3, suggests that there was great ill-feeling on the subject[2]: in fact, it has been a sore point between lord and

[1] Cf. Matthew's Introd. to the *Briefe Examination.*

[2] Cp. *Econom. Interpret. of Hist.* p. 42.

tenant from Henry the Seventh's day down to our own.

The effects of the dissolution upon the customary tenures must have been slight. It is not till the middle of the seventeenth century that there was any further great change in the nature of the copyholder's interest. The incidents were gradually being commuted by that time, where possible, for money payments. Still, one or two points can be suggested on this most important topic in the history of English Law. In the first place, the reason for there being so little change was obviously to be found in the excellent condition of the monastic court rolls. Nothing can be clearer than the accounts of a monastery[1], and this perhaps is the reason why the Receiver's accounts are also so intelligible. Now, when the ministers took the place of the monks as collectors of the manorial payments, they had complete lists of these payments to hand, and it is only where they were wanting perhaps that any change occurred.

A list of the Glastonbury fines for instance is extant, by which the receivers could verify all after payments[2]. Of course where possible the tenants took advantage of any casual circumstances which might turn to their advantage; the loss of the court roll would be one of these circumstances. In a manuscript[3], presumably of Henry VIIIth's time, we read:

[1] See for instance a roll of Taunton Priory lands, B. M. Add. 16, 333, for the reign of Hen. VI.

[2] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 17451.

[3] Harl. 604. This MS. however looks as though it were of later date than the above. The writing is like that of the Stuart period.

"After the dissolution of the Abbey of Glas-
"tonbury the manor of Ditchet in Somerset was
"granted (as I take it) to Sir Raph Hopton
"Knight Marshall.

"Now the point I desire to be resolved in is
"what the custom of the copyholds was in the
"Abbot's time because the tenants have usurped
"a new custom since."

Again as to manors as a whole, it is difficult to say what the general result was to the tenant. Rogers[1] says that the monks were easy landlords, because they were unpopular, a rather unkind suggestion. It seems probable that they were such, whatever the reason, or the new owners could not have raised the rents of the leaseholders as they did[2]. Fish, in the quoted portion of his supplication, gives a very strong and circumstantial account of the proceedings of the landed classes[3]. The lease for life or lives[4], the intimidation, the surrender of the copy, and the re-grant of a shorter lease only renewed after paying an extortionate fine. But the Receivers do not seem to have pressed hardly on the tenants. From Somerset accounts it will be seen that they allowed very large arrears to accumulate.

Amos, in his work on the Statutes of Henry VIII., has drawn attention to one or two points too important to be passed by without some notice. The locking up of land in the hands of a corporation was an

[1] *Econ. Interp. of Hist.* p. 62.

[2] Cp. Gasquet, II. 513.

[3] But the complaint is of course far older. See Rog. *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, p. 445.

[4] Cp. 35 Hen. VIII., c. 13.

immense bar to the free circulation of estates as marketable commodities. This the dissolution removed. Another consequence of almost equal importance was the immediate necessity for land legislation. A glance at the statute roll of Henry VIII., Edw. VI., Mary and Elizabeth, will shew what a number of Acts were passed dealing with the tenure, descent, and transfer of estates. These Acts cannot be dealt with in a work of a professedly local character. The 'Protestant title to lands,' a doctrine of some importance in the sixteenth century, must be also left. Something will be found about it in Hallam.

We have just stated that a very large amount of land was suddenly let loose among the laity, and if land were subject to the rules which govern other commodities, we would expect the value of land to fall because there was so much in the market. In Somerset about a fourth of the cultivated land of the county was in religious hands, and most of it passed out of the Crown's hands before twenty years were past. The following corrections must be borne in mind. The King did not grant it all at once, a matter of some importance. Again the land did not, as for instance the land of the noblesse in France after the Revolution, go to enrich land merchants. Those who bought bought to keep and not to sell again. So even more so of those who received a free grant. The Sydenhams, Sir John Seyntlo, Francis, the Luttrells, Seymour, the Earl of Suffolke, and the Earl of Wiltshire, were not land jobbers, and the passing of a great mass of property into such

hands would tend in Somerset, as in the rest of England, to correct the market.

But when all this discount is allowed the effect must still have been enormous. We are told, as has been said, by Rogers that rack-renting commenced with the sixteenth century. The reason in the earlier part of the century was obvious enough, being the rapid rise in general prices accompanied by no corresponding improvement in agriculture. Consequently when the landlord raised the rent in proportion to the rise of other prices he found his tenant unable to pay[1]. The fact was that the price of stock, as compared with that of the land itself, was still too great. But this must have righted itself to a certain extent, had not the great quantity of land thrown upon the market delayed what may be called the settlement of the value of land. This was again what delayed for a time the rise in rents. The increase of leaseholds must have helped, for the number of tenants cannot have been very large when they had been redistributed, and the tendency towards sheep farming had spread over the kingdom. But there is certainly no doubt about the result; the rise in rents, which ought to have come towards the end of the sixteenth century, was delayed until the beginning of the seventeenth, because then land culture was improved without the price of the articles needed for production being perceptibly increased[2].

From the Acts of Parliament, if nothing else, it

[1] *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, p. 351.

[2] An account of the delay is in Thor. Rog. *Six Cents. of Work and Wages*, p. 351.

is evident that a good deal of buying and selling of land went on whatever might be the intention of the monastic grantees. The price of land is, it is confessed by a master of statistics, very difficult to discover, indeed, from the calculation by produce and the complex character of the interests in land at the time, almost impossible to discover[1]. The valor never states the acreage, and though the rental does in many cases it was taken at the beginning of Edward VI.'s reign, and is perplexing from the variations of rent that are met with. Take the following:

	Rent. s. d.		Value. £. s. d.
At North Petherton, meadow land	1 0	per acre, capitalized	1 0 0
At Langford, land...	0 6	„	0 10 0
At Kingeston, land	2 0	„	2 0 0
At Dundre, land ...	0 4	„	0 6 8
At Yatton, meadow	1 8	„	1 13 4
At Portebury, pasture	1 0	„	1 0 0

Still in the beginning of Edward's reign for average pasture land a shilling an acre would be usual and for meadow 1*s.* 8*d.* Kingston is in the vale of Taunton, which was even then termed 'paradise,' and the explanation of other differences in the rental may be accounted for by supposing that much less land was carefully cultivated than at the present day. In giving up the attempt to determine the price of land save by a rude system of capitalizing rental at twenty years' purchase, it must be remembered that the king's grants are no reliable list.

[1] Th. Rog. *Journal of Stat. Soc.* vol. xxiv.

They were often prepared on surveys, but the way in which they were sought for[1] shows that they were obtained at a far lower price than they were worth. But thus much we may be sure of, that the above prices are not in anything like the same ratio to the prices of labour and produce that prevailed either before the sixteenth century or after it. Mowing was sixpence per acre in 1530, one and sixpence in 1580, and a penny higher shortly after the beginning of the seventeenth century[2]. This rise ought to have been accompanied by a great increase in rent[3], but the rise was not in correspondence, and the reason was mainly, perhaps, because of the failure until the last mentioned date to effect much improvement in agricultural methods, but also because of the large amount of land open to tenant-farmers[4] at a lease, and the consequent absence of competition as an element forcing the price of land above what could be paid. Before our period the wage was much the same, but the ratio of it to the price of land represented the greater percentage of the labourer's share and his consequently greater comfort[3].

The following manuscript may be of value, at least the latter part of it, as an illustration of this chapter and of the chapter on the Monastic Property:

[1] See the letters in Chap. I.

[2] *Journ. Stat. Soc.* vol. xxiv. p. 552.

[3] *Hist. of Ag. and Prices*, p. 519.

[4] The farmer now being much more than a crofter.

Account of the Manor and Rectory of Westmonkton.

In the valuation as well of all the lands and tenements and other temporal possessions as of the issues of spiritualities belonging to the monastery of Glaston made in the 27th year of King Henry the Eighth, the following is the account of West Monkton:

West Monkton valued in

Rents of assize as well of free as customary tenants by the year beyond 26*s.* 8*d.* for the fee of John Shattock the bailiff there	58	7	10	£62	8	0
Thus clear						
Perquisites of courts and other casualties	1	10	2			
Fines for lands	2	10	0			

And thus under the head of

Receipts of certain pensions from divers churches for or towards the building of Glastonbury, as below, appears valued in

	s.	*d.*
Higham	40	0
Westmonkton	26	8
Battlecombe	20	0
Wryngton	40	0
Dycheayte	40	0
Wells	20	0
Poklechurche	50	0
West Pennard . . .	23	4

	s.	d.
Church of Saint Stephen, Bristol	26	8
East Brent	13	4
Deverell	26	8
Lympesham	13	4
Marelynche	20	0
Strete	60	0
Marnell	20	0

After the dissolution of the Monastery of Glaston, when among its other possessions the manor, &c., of Westmonkton were seized into the king's hands, the following survey was made:

The Surveye of alle the woods comens severall waters & benefices appertaynyng to the kyng's ma^tie^ with the lordships ensuyng videl^t^.

West Mounton.

There ys a fyshing extending from the mylles now in the tenure of Mr Sooper unto the see in len^h^ vi myles, the whiche is letten to Mr Thomas Warer by copy for vis viijd by yere..... } vis viijd

There is also a Quarre of Ilestone and Ragg whiche renteth by yere ..... } vs

There ys no wood.

There is a comen called Lynche cont^g^ 100 acres of the whiche the kyng may let yerely unto tyllage to the tenantes x acres for ijd an acre (for that wyll bere but two crops together) another comen called Mounten Hethfeld containing xl acres whereuppon groweth certain shrubbed okes wh^e^ are letten with the court hous to John Totehille. There ys another comen called Bathepoole Grene containing xx acres .....

The personage is of the kynges Highness gifte Mr Payne is incumbent and is worth by yere above all charge ..... } xxli

The persone payeth pension to the Sexton of Glaston ..... } xxvjs viijd

M^d^ To see the booke of acc^t^ whether vis viijd for rent of court house and four acres of land be charged or not.

M^d^ There is lx acres land and pasture by estymation lying together severalle now voyd & in the kyngs hands for default of a tenant wh was late ass^d^ by the Abbot of Glaston to the Prior of Taunton to fynd a preest to saye masse thrice a weeke in the almeshouse at Taunton townesende.

During the period that the Manor and Rectory of Westmonkton rem^d^ in the poss^n^ of the crown after the dissolution of the monasteries, several ministers' accounts appear, but these afford no information respecting the church, excepting as regards 26*s.* 8*d.* for a certain pension issuing out of the church of West Monketon paid by the rector of the same church by the yere (see the accompany^e^ trans^n^ of a minister's account).

King Edw. the Sixth by his letters patent under the Great Seal of England dated at Westminster in the first day of May in the 4th year of his reign among other things gave and granted "All that "manor or lordship of West Monkton and the advow- "son donation and free disposition and right of "patronage of the church and rectory of Monkton "with their rights members and appurtenances what-

"soever and the pension aforesaid" to Wm. Marquess of Winchester by the name of Wm. Earl of Wiltes.

County of Somerset Glaston | Acc[t] of all & singular the bailiffs reeves farmers & other ministers of the Lord the king being accountable for one whole year ended at the feast of St Michael the Archangel in the 5th year of the reign of the now King Edward VI.

Lands and possessions of the late monastery of Glaston in the County of Somerset attainted.

Westmonketon.

Account.

Arrears. The same is charged on account for £64 3 3 of arrears of the last account of the year next preceding as at the foot of the same is fully shewn.

Sum £64 3 3.

Rents of Assize. And for xvs ivd the whole rent of assize of the free tenants there by the year to be paid at the terms there usual as in the account for the second year preceding fully appears. For one pound of pepper and for one pound of cummin of the rent of Ric Hoden he doth not answer because they were delivered to the auditor of the Lord the king there for his fee. Nor doth he answer for one pound of cummin of rent of the almshouse called St Margarets next Taunton because it was delivered to the auditor of the Lord the king there as parcel of his fees.

Sum xvs ivd.

Customary Rents. And for xlli vs iiid for rents of all the customary tenants there by the year to be paid at the four principal terms of the year in equal portions as in the account of the year next preceding fully appears.

Sum xlli vs iijd.

Farm of the demesne Lands. And for vili xijs iiijd for the farm of the demesne lands in Lambergh so demised to William Halley by the year.

Sum vili xijs iiijd.

Farm of the Mills. And for xxiijs iiijd for the farm of one mill there so demised to Roger Adams by the year. And for xxiijs iiijd there so demised to William Adamps by the year and for cviijs viijd for the farm of the mills there called Bathepoole so demised to Margaret Soper by the year as appears by the rental of the xxxiijrd year of the late King Henry viij thereof made and before Hugh Paulett K^{t} the surveyor of the lands of the Lord the king there examined and by the oath of the tenants there.

Sum vijli xiijs iiijd.

Issues of the Manor. And for xijd for the issues of the new quarry of stones so demised to Thomas Drayton and Hugh Smythney during their lives and for iijs ijd for a certain custom there paid by the tenants called plough silver to wit every tenant pays for every plough by ancient due xiiijd & so in charge this year as above. And for vis viijd for rent of the demesnes of the manor with the dove house and the herbage of a garden there by the year in the tenure of John Totehill as appears by the rental aforesaid.

Sum xjs ijd.

Pension. And for xxvjs viijd for a certain pension issuing out of the church of Westmonkton paid by the rector of the same church by the year.

Sum xxvjs viijd.

Farm for licenses. And for ivd of Rob. Barnard for to have license that he may place John Jessoppe his mother in his tenement which he holds of the Lord the

king during the life of the said Joan and that the said Robert may live away from his tenement aforesaid during his term aforesaid so that the rents repairs & other services thereof are rendered and done. And for ivd of John Norris, Petronell his wife & Hugh their son to have license that he may place another in his tenement called Spotte and the toft with the appurtenances to any tenant or tenants during their lives and the life of either of them longest living.

Sum viijd.

Perquisites of Court. For any profits arising or growing from any perquisites of Courts there this year he doth not answer because no such courts within the time of this account have been holden by oath of the said accountant upon this account taken.

Sum nil.

Sum of the charge with the arrears cxxiiijli ixs of which are discharged cxxli ixs vjd in allowance of the rent and farm of the whole manor aforesaid with all and singular rights members and appurtenances whatsoever because the Lord the now King Edward VI. by his letters patent under his great seal of England dated at Westminster on the first day of may in the fourth year of his reign among other things gave and granted all that manor or Lordship of Westmonkton aforesaid and the advowson donation and free disposition and right of patronage of the church and rectory of Monkton with their rights members and appurtenances whatsoever. Also all that annuity or annual pension of xxvjs viijd in Monkton aforesaid and all & singular messuages lands tenements mills meadows feedings pastures commons waters heaths furze marsh woods underwoods rents reversions & services & advowsons & right of patronage

of churches whatsoever: Also courts leet views of Frankpledge chattels waived estrays chattels of felons and fugitives freewarrens fairs markets tolls customs knight's fees, wards marriages escheats reliefs heriots fines amercements and all other our rights jurisdictions franchises liberties privileges commodities emoluments and hereditaments whatsoever, situate lying & being in Westmonkton or elsewhere wheresoever in the said county of Somerset to the said lordship or manor pertaining or belonging to William Marquess of Winchester by the name of the Earl of Wiltes his heirs & assigns from the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel last past before the date of these letters patent for ever to be holden of the said lord the king his heirs and successors in chief by the service of the fortieth part of one knight's fee and for the rent of four score and twelve pounds four shillings of lawful money of England at the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel every year to be paid out of the manor of Tynehed and Erdington in the county of Wiltes for all rents services and demands whatsoever to the said lord the king his heirs or successors in any manner rendered paid or done as in the same letters patent among other things is more fully contained and so in exoneration of such for two whole years ended at the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel in the fifth year of the now King Edward VI. by virtue of the letters patent aforesaid as above. And he owes lxxvij s vid which are discharged here because they are charged in the account of John Aylesworthe Esq Receiver of the Lord the King's Court of Augmentations & revenues of his crown in the county of Somerset as in his account of this year is more fully shewn and appeareth.

And it is ballanced[1].

[1] From B. M. MS. Additional No. 15662.

Although great estates passed into a few hands, such was the number and wealth of the religious houses in the county of Somerset that a very wide distribution took place, and in consequence a large addition to the class of landed proprietors in the counties. This has been illustrated before; perhaps the following will suffice here:

Taunton Priory enjoyed an income which may be roughly estimated at two thousand pounds a year of our money, though in relation to food it would probably amount to more than that sum. The land producing this revenue went among the following. The site and demesne lands situated in Taunton, Bishop's Hull, Staplegrove, Russheton, Trull, Corfe, Pitminster, Church, Hill Farance, Norton, Kingston and Cheddon, were divided between Sir Francis Bryan and Matthew Coltehurst[1]. Many small properties in Taunton were given to Wm. Chapleyn and John Selwood[2]. Popham and Halley were satisfied by messuages at Playsneto, the manor of Tobridge, and fields about Thurlebeere and Hatch. Humphrey Coles[3], a name too familiar in this connection, had the Rectory of Pitminster, and that of Corfe with lands all round that neighbourhood, including Barton Orange. Staffordell was divided between Sir Richard Zouche, Sir Thomas Arundell, and the Earl of Oxford. Three other names, Standyshe, Hill and Eyre, complete the list of grantees[4]. Thus what had been the subject of one ownership becomes at once divided among 13, and probably

[1] Hugo, *Hist. Taunt.* Pr. 123.
[2] *Ib.* 124. [3] *Ib.* 125. [4] *Ib.*

was soon afterwards still further split up. A rough estimate would give as the area so distributed 2000 acres.

Mynchin Buckland was the only important nunnery in the county, and it will be found to have been grasped by no less than 22 grantees[1], among whom was Popham, an officer of the convent. Canyngton was a small priory and a good many of its possessions were leased on easy terms. Some 13 new proprietors in one way or another appear however, among whom Hugo notes 'the insatiate Edward Rogers,' and there also appears the equally insatiate Humphrey Coles. A similar partition among half-a-dozen occurred at Barrow Gurney.

Thus where there had been four corporations as owners there at once spring up over fifty proprietors, and of course in the case of Glastonbury far more than this proportion. There must then have been a very wide distribution of land.

Lease taken from a Harleian MS.

The Indenture of William Pole of Combe.

To alle trewe Christen to whom thys presente wryttyng Indented shall come William Holleweye by the sufferaunce of god Prior of the Monasterye and Cathedrall Churche of Saynct Sauyor and of the holie apostelles Peter and Paul of Bathe in the counte of Somerset and Conuente or Chapiter of the same place senden greten in our lorde god euerlast-

[1] Hugo, *Med. Nunneries of Som.* 178. See the same for Canyngton and Minchin Barrow.

inge knowe ye that we the foresayed prior and Conuent or chapiter *with* oone assente haue lett taken and by thys *our* p*re*sent wryttyng indented confyrmyd to william Pole of Combe yn the Counte aforsayd husbondemane to Edythe hys wyfe and to thom*as* their sonne alle that *our* ffarme barne and sheppon sett and beyng *with*yn *our* manor of Combe aforsayede *with* alle land*es* meddowes leases pastures woodes and vnderwood*es* *with* all and sundrye theire apportenunc*es* to the foresaide ffarme of olde tyme by ryght p*er*teinyng or belongyng Except not *with*standyng and reseruyd allewayes to vs the said pryor and Conuent and to *our* successors the Rent*es* Relevys & all oth*er* ser*u*ices of all oth*er* tenant*es* theire togither *with* alle Custumarye werk*es* of the same tenant*es* there to be done or elleswhere, And allso excepte likewyse and resue*r*uide to vs and to *our* successors the mansione or place of *our* manor of Combe aforsaide *with* alle the Courte ande dovehouse garden and Orcharde there and also the weye that goith frome the kechyn walle vntille the highe weye by the shepen And allso excepted and reseruid to vs and *our* successors *our* lordeshippe or Royalte there withe weyff*es* and streis and alle ryght*es* and proffyt*es* of our court*es* there vsyde and accustomyd And allso excepte and rese*r*uyd to *our* chauntre or chauntre ys office for the tyme being the thythes of the lande of *our* parke *with*in *our* lordesshepe of lyncombe and jussement*es* of alle catelle and bestes there pasturyng aboue thys nombre followyng that ys to saye of xij oxen or for them oth*er* xviij best*es* vj kyen vj halves oone bull a

mayere and j colte And allso excepte and reser*u*yd to vs the sayd Prior and Conuent and to o*ur* successors the pasture or fedyng of cc female cowyes their brede goyng restyng and fedyng yerelye duryng thys gr*a*unte at horsecom*b*e w*ith*in the sleite of Combe frely and in reste w*ith*oute any lette gayne saye or Impedyme*n*te of sayd William Edithe or Thomas theire sone or theire assygnes AND MOREOUER knowe ye that we the foresayde pryo*ur* and Conuent by o*ur* lyke assente and consent have grauntede lett taken and by thys o*ur* pr*e*sent wryttyng indented co*n*fyrmed to the sayd William pole Edythe hys wyffe and thomas their sone all that o*ur* weth*er* ffloke of combe aforsayde contenyng in nombre ccclx wethers w*ith* alle and alle manere of jussues pr*o*fyttes and revenewes yerly comyng and growing of the sayd weth*er* ffloke to gyth*er* w*ith* pastures sleyt*es* closes medowes hylles or downes and all*e* oth*er* man*er* of land*es* or ffeld*es* belongyng or appertenyng to the sustentacyon or fedyng of the sayed weth*er* ffloke of olde tyme w*ith*in the lordeshippe of Combe aforsayde and elles where w*ith* the Custumarye work*es* of o*ur* ten*a*untes there that ys to saye of waysshyng and sheryng of the weth*er* floke at the season or tymes mete and accustomyd TO HAVE and TO HOLDE alle the forsayed ffarme of o*ur* man*o*ur aforesayed w*ith* oth*er* the premisses excepte before excepted And also the foresayde weth*er* floke contenyng in nombre ccclx w*ith* the pastures of the same and custumary werk*es* aforsayed to the forsayd wyllya*m* pole Edithe hys wyfe and thomas their sonne frome the laste daye of aprylle in the xxiij^{ti} yere of the reigne of

our sou*er*aigne lorde kynge henrye theight for terme of their lyves and of eu*er*y of them longer lyver successively hoolye quyetlye weile and in peace YELDYNG and payng therfor yerly durynge the terme aforesayede to vs the sayd pryo*ur* and Conuent and to *our* successo*rs* in man*er* and forme folowyng That ys to saye for the forsayde ffare of o*ur* mano*ur* and othe*r* the p*re*mysses in grayne or corne as folowyth That ys to saye thei shall*e* paye or cause to be payed carye or cause to be caryd at theire owne p*ro*pre costes and expense*s* yerly durynge the terme aforesayed into the Garnere of the sayd pryo*ur* and conuente and their successors w*ith*in the sayd monastery of pure and clene and of the beste whete and not of the orffes of any whete weill*e* and purelye thressyd and wynowed xvj quarters of good and lawfule and resonable mesure To be payde and dylyveryd alleweys betwyne the ffeaste*s* of Saynt Mychell*e* tharch*a*ungell and w*hit*sontyde wekelye as shalbe demaunded and requiryde of theym by the sayed pryo*ur* and hys successours or their *ser*uaunte*s* or officers And in pure and of the beste barlye weill and purely thressyd and wynowede xxij quarters of good lawfull and resonable mesure To be payede browght in and deliu*er*yd as ys be foresayed yerly allewayes bitwyne the ffaeste*s* of alle saynte*s* and of saynt Davide the confessor the ffyrst daye of Marche wekelye lykewyse as shalbe demaunded and required of theim by the sayed pryo*ur* and hys successoure*s* or theire mynisters, And moreou*er* thei shall cutte downe clene and make before the monethe of Maye and carye or cuse to be caryed at theire owen

propre costes and expenses yerly duryng the terme aforesayed foure weyne loodes of woode or fuelle owte of our wood of Prysten or elles where as there shalbe assignede into the Bruerne Orte within our Monasterye or to our Manoure of Combe yf thei be so commaunded And there to pyle the same where thei shalbe assigned at their owne costes and charges And allso thei shalle ffeede and faten in stalle yerly duryng the sayed terme for vs and our successours with theire beaste heye frome the ffeaste of saynt mayrteine the Bysshoppe in wynter vntille the Invencyon of the hollye crosse one oxe. And moreouer thei shalle carye or cause to be caryed yerly duryng the terme aforesayd three loodes of heye of the draught of vj oxen owt of the brodecrostes to combe for the fedyng of the sayed wetherfloke at theire owne propre costes and expenses And yeldyng and paying yerly duryng the sayed terme to vs the sayed pryour and conuent and to our successours for the sayed wetherfloke with their pastures and other their appertenaunces vj poundes of good and lawfulle moneye of Englande To be payed yerly in the ffaeste of the Natiuitye of saynt John the baptyste in the chapelle of alle sayntes within our monasterye aforesayede And the foresayd Wylliam Edythe hys wyfe and thomas their soone and euery of them shalle sue duryng the terme aforsayed to the halymote courte of the sayed pryour and conuente and theire successours twyse euery yere at lynecombe And lykewyse at the lawe dayes hundre of the Barton twyse euery yere as the manour ys sommes had before. And furthermore

thei and eu*ery* of them shalle yerly duryng the sayde tyme gath*er* paye and leuye alle the rent*es* of the sayed pryo*ur* and conuente and hys successors of theire ten*au*ntes there and bryng hyt home to theire monasterye and theire paye yt to the sayed pryo*ur* and hys successors or their deput*es* in that behalfe quar*ter*lye and therof also at theire audyte make a trewe compt w*ith*out any fee therefore demaundynge AND FURTHERMORE yt ys couen*au*ntyd the forsayd wyllyam poale Edythe hys wyfe and thomas theire soone and eu*ery* of them duryng the terme aforesayed shalle frome tyme to tyme weill and sufficientlye repayer susteigne and maynteigne when and as often as ned shalbe at their owne propre cost*es* and expens*es* the foresayed ffarme in hedgys gat*tes* dyches and alle oth*er* manoure of defenses, and so weille and sufficientlye repayred susteyned & mayntenyd in thende of the sayd terme shalle leve and gyve vppe And yt shalbe not lawfule to the sayed wyllya*m* Edythe nor thomas theire soone to lette or assigne any porcyon or parte of the p*re*miss*es* to any oth*er* persone duryng the terme aforesayed w*ith*oute specyalle lycence of the sayed pryo*ur* and conuente or theire successours thereunto fy*r*st askyde had and obteigned And yf yt chaunce the sayed yerly rente of grayne that ys to saye of xvj quarters of whete and xxij quarters of Barley for the foresayed ffarme at the forsayd yerly rente of vj pound*es* for the forsayed weth*er*floke or the ffelyng downe clenyng makyng and carying of the foresayde woode and heye at their tymes tobe behynde vnpayed by the space of one monethe aft*er* any terme of payment that it

owght to be payed then it shalbe weille laufulle to vs the sayed pryour and conuent and to our successours into the forsayed ffarme and other the premisses with their appertenaunces or in to any parcelle thereof to entere and dystreine and the destresses so there founde take bere and chase or dryve aweye and with vs stylle for to kepe and reteigne vntill suche tyme as vnto vs fule satysfactyon of the sayed grayen and rente of the wetherfloke with tharrerages of the same yf any be and our costes damages & charges in that behalue be duely made and payede And yf the forsayed rent of grayne of whet and Barleye or the sayed rent of vj poundes for the sayed wetherfloke or the sayed cuttyng downe clenyng makyng and carying of the sayed woode and heye be behynd vnpayede in parte or in hole by the space of a quarter of a yere after any terme of paymente that it owght to be payede and in the mene season sufficient destresses for the sayd rent so beyng behynd cannot be founde vppone the sayde ffarme with thappertenaunces Or yf the foresayd ffarme in alle hedgyng gattes and other defensses be not frome tyme to tyme duryng the terme aforesayde weille and sufficientlye repayrd sustenyd and maynteigned Or yf there chaunce any wayste to be made there by the sayde wyllyam Edythe hys wyfe or thomas theire sonne that then it shalbe weill laufulle to vs the sayed pryour and conuent and to our successours or assignes into alle our foresayed ffarme and other the premysses with alle and sundrye theire appertenaunces to reentere resease and haue agayne and in our handes after our fyrst or formere state to reteigne and peasiblye to possesse thys our present

graunt in any thyng notwithstandyng AND FURTHERMORE to areste and saese in to our handes alle the goodes and catalles of the sayed wylliam Edythe and thomas tharrerages and deutyes for the sayd ffarme and floke yf any.....be behynde and theim so arestyd in to our handes kypt stylle vntille we be fully contente and paide with our costes and damages susteynyd in that behalue And ffurthermore by specyalle couenaunte made the said william and Edythe hys wyf and Thomas their sonne couenaunte and bynde theym and euery of them theyre heyres and executours by theise presentes that they and euery of them streight imedyatly after the sealyng and deliuerye of theise Indentures shalle stonde oblysshed and bounden by their wrytyng oblygatory vnder the payneof ane ℔li to vs the saide priour and coneuente and to our successours that they or oone of theym whom it shalle chaunse to be last or hys executours or assignes in that be halue in thende of the forsaide terme welle and truly yelde delyuer to vs the saide priour and conuente or to our successours or to our deputie in that behalue the forsaide wetherflocke conteynynge in nombre ccclx hoole sounde and stronge not rotten banyde nor otherwayes diseasid Or at the leaste for euery pole or peace xviij^{d} to be estemyd valued or judgyd by the hole homage there. So that allewayes notwithstondyng it shalbe at the lybertie and choise of vs the said priour and conuente and ower successours whether we wyll then take the forsaid shepe or the price aforesayd. And also that they and euery off them contynually durynge the terme aforesaid shalle maynteyne and kepe vpp the noumbre of the wetherflocke aforesaid without any

notable dymynycion vpon the pastures aforesayd and furthermore that they shalle stonde to performe and fullefylle euery oone off hys tyme alle other thynges before specyfyed and expressyd And we the foresayd priour and conuente and our successours alle the forsaid ffarme and other the premysses with their appertenaunces excepte before exceptyd to the forsayd william Edithe and Thomas for termes off their lyues and of euery of them longer lyuer in maner and forme aboue wryten shalle ageynst alle people waraunte acqwyte and defende by theyse presentes In wytnes wherof to thone parte of thys wrytyng Indented remaynyng with the foresayd william Edythe and Thomas we the forsayd priour and conuente haue putte oure comen or conuente seale. And to thother parte off the same wrytyng indentyd remaynyng with vs the saide priour and conuente and our successours the foresaid william Edythe and Thomas haue putt theyre seales. Yeuen in our chapter house with our hole assent consente and wylle the xjth daye of Nouembre in the xx^{t} yere of the reigne of our souerayne lorde Kynge Henry theight &c.[1]

Example of a Canterbury Stock and Land Lease (Rawlinson MS. Bodl. Libr. Oxford).

.....Et insuper presens indentura testatur quod cum predicti firmarii receperint de prefato Priore in et cum predicto manerio de Lyddecourte staurum viuum subscriptum habendum eis et occupandum

[1] Harl. MS. 3970 f. 20. (This is a book of Copies nearly contemporary.)

vsque finem termini predicti videlicet ccc oues matrices precij xvij li centum multones sex veruices precij capite xvijd vijli x s ijd. Clxvij agni precij vj li xiij s iiij d predicti Prior et conuentus per presentes concedunt quod liceat prefatis Edwardo et Jane et assignatis suis ad libitum suum de predicto stauro viuo quantum eis placuerint et visum fuerint expediri vendere et alienare Itaquod ipsi executores vel assignati sui tantum staurum viuum quantum sic venditum siue alienatum fuerit pro ipsis Priore et Conuentu et successoribus suis ad vsum suum emant et loco eiusdem stauri sic venditi seu alienati ponant et restituant.

License to alienate in Mortmain.

Licencia dandi ad manum mortuam.

Rex omnibus ad quos &c. salutem sciatis quod cum nos tricesimo die Octobris preterito per literas nostras patentes de gratia nostra speciali & pro centum solidis solutis in hanaperio nostro concessimus & licenciam dederimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris quantum in nobis fuit dilecto nobis Johanni Walsham quod ipse quatuor mesuagia quatuor viginti acras terre decem acras parci & decem acras pasture cum pertinentibus in Bradforde que sunt gleba ecclesie de Bradforde & que valorem annuum quinque marcarum non excedunt nec non aduocacionem ecclesie de Bradforde que quidem ecclesia ad viginti marcas extenditur per annum & que quidem mesuagia & libera parcum pastura & aduocacio de nobis non tenentur in capite vt dicitur dare possit & assignare dilectis nobis in Christo Priori & Conventui de Ber-

liche in com*itatu* Some*rset* h*ab*end*um* & tenend*um* eisdem priori & conventui & successor*ibus* suis ad morand*um* p*ro* salubri statu n*ost*ro dum vixerim*us* & pro a*nim*a nostra cum ab hac luce migrau*erim*u*s* & a*nim*ab*us* (*sic*) progenitor*um* & successor*um* n*ostro*-*rum* & om*nium* fidelium defunctor*um* imp*er*p*etuum* et eisdem Priori & Conventui q*uod* ipsi d*icta* messuagia t*er*ram p*ar*cum & pasturam cum pertin*entibus* necnon advocac*ion*em p*redict*am a p*re*fato Joh*anne* recip*ere* & eccl*es*iam illam appropriare & eam sic appropria-tam in p*ro*prios vsus tenere possint vna cum d*ict*is messuagiis t*er*ra p*ar*co & pastura cum pertin*entib*us eisdam Priori & Conventui & eor*um* successoribu*s* ad exorand*um* p*ro* satu et a*nim*ab*us* p*redict*is imp*er*-p*etuum* sicut p*redict*um est statuto de rec*ipendo* & ten*endo* ad manu*m* mortuam non ponendo edicto non obstante salvis semp*er* capitalib*us* d*omi*nis feodi s*er*uiciis de d*ict*is messuagiis terra p*ar*co pastura & aduocac*ione* debilis & consultis p*rout* in l*ite*ris n*ost*ris p*redict*is plenius continet*ur* nos ad p*re*missa con-sideracionem h*ab*entes ad supplicac*ion*em d*icto*r*um* Prioris & Conventus de g*rat*ia n*ost*ra spec*iali* concess-im*us* & liccuciam dedim*us* p*ro* nob*is* & heredib*us* n*ost*ris quantum in nob*is* est tam p*re*fato Joh*anni* q*uam* Ric*ardo* nup*er* p*er*sone eccl*es*ie de Bufforde & Ric*ardo* Bere q*uod* ipsi d*icta* messuagia t*er*ram p*ar*-cum & pasturam cum pertin*entibus* & aduocac*ion*em p*redict*am dare possint & assignare p*re*fatis Priori & Conventui h*ab*end*um* & tenend*um* eisdem Priori & Conventui & eor*um* successoribu*s* ad exorand*um* p*ro* statu a*nim*ab*us* p*redict*is imp*er*p*etuum* et eisdem Priori & Conventui q*uod* ipsi mesuagia t*er*ram p*ar*tum

et pasturam predictam cum pertinentibus & aduocacionem predictam a prefatis Johanne Ricardo & Ricardo recipere & ecclesiam illam appropriare & eam sic appropriatam in proprios vsus tenere possint vna cum messuagiis terra parco & pastura predictis cum pertinentibus prefatis Priori & Conventui & eorum successoribus ad exorandum pro salubri statu & animabus predictis imperpetuum sicut predictum est statuto predicto non obstante nolentes quod iidem Johannes Ricardus & Ricardus vel heredes sui aut predicti Prior & Conventus seu successores sui ratione premissorum per nos vel heredes nostros aut ministros nostros quoscumque molestentur in aliquo seu gruuentur saluis semper capitalibus dominis feodi seruiciis super dictis. In cuius &c.[1]

[1] R. O. Patent Roll, 6 Ric. II. pt. i. m. 22.

CHAPTER VIII.

Some General Results of the Suppression.

In gathering up a few of the results of the suppression not hitherto noticed, the survey will be found to be invaluable, and the hints which it gives ought to be most carefully noted. It was taken just when the effect of the suppression was beginning to make itself fully felt, in the social life of the county at all events. The first point then that we must examine is the condition of what may be termed religion after the overthrow of the monks.

The monastic chapels are all gone, some of them splendid, many of them places of resort for the neighbours, though it is highly improbable that the monks ever systematically worked as parish priests. In the time of Henry the Eighth there was a great deal of slackness about religion. Traces of it will be seen in the survey; the businesslike way in which districts bargained for their services is almost amusing. When then the monasteries went a certain definite amount of religious accommodation went too. The chantries were left, but were often in decay, often small; and again, invaluable though they were in the country on other than religious grounds, they were suppressed at the beginning of

Edward the VI.'s reign. To illustrate the need of more services take the following:

The ffree chapell of Blackeforde.

The saide chapell is distant from the paryshe churche one myle and a half, and thenhabitauntes ther be xxxiiij households[1].

Chuton: The chapell of Eston Minor.

This chapell maye welbe spared for that Eston Maior standeth within ij furlonge, and nerer the towne[2].

Ilchester Burrowe: The ffree chapell of the Holy Trinity of Whitehall ther.

The chapell is scituate within the towne of Ilchester.

The chapell Mychelles at Bowe. The rent of the same &c.

Partakers of the Lords Holy Sooper ther 95 persones[3].

Longe Sutton.

The chapell of Upton.

The chapell is half a myle from the paryshe churche and maye well be spared.

The chapell of Knolle.

The chapell is a quarter of a myle from the paryshe churche and maye well be spared.

There be no lands apperteyning to this chapell[4].

These instances will shew that there was need of the churches, and that the destruction of these

[1] *Som. Rec. Soc.* vol. II. p. 70. [2] *Ib.* p. 98.
[3] *Ib.* p. 107. [4] *Ib.* p. 113.

chapels and confiscation of the endowments would only add to the existing religious ignorance. That in the early part of the sixteenth century there was a certain amount of religious devotion among the laity, the churches which are of that period afford evidence. It was a time of considerable building activity. The Chantry Inspectors' reports shew that there had been generosity and self-sacrifice on the part of the people. For instance:

Stavordall.

> The personage and vicarage ther wer impropriat to the late priorye of Staverdell and after the dissolucion of the same purchased by the foresaide Lord Zouche of the kinges ma^tie^, who findeth a curate to mynyster ther having for his yerely salarie. vj li.
>
> Partakers of the Lordes Holy Sooper ther 280 persones[1].

Estpennarde.

> The chapell callyd Stone Chapell.
>
> The preest was founde of the devocion of thenhabitauntes ther who gave to hym and his successors the foresaide tenement[2].

Wynforde.

> The chapell of our Lady ther.
>
> The paryshenors (saye) that they boughte this chapell ix yeres nowe past of one Mr Vaughan servunte to Sir Thomas Arundell knighte, then surveiour of the suppressed landes within the saide countie[3].

[1] *Som. Rec. Soc.* vol. II. p. 128. Cf. p. 119. Lord Zouche's ancestor however had founded the chantry for two priests. Cf. Hugo, *Hist. of Taunton Priory*, p. 65, and Zouche's letter in Chap. I. *ante*.

[2] *Ib.* p. 124. [3] *Ib.* p. 86.

But on the other hand there is no doubt that the effects of the frequent changes and turmoils of the reign had proved disastrous to religious observances by the time that Edward the Sixth came to the throne. To begin with, a man would be in great danger of being an Act of Parliament behind the King in times when no dissent was tolerated. Cautious men of the period would wait, or at all events be chary of making loud professions on matters of ritual. Probably a great deal less church-going went on. For all this the dissolution must in some part answer; but surely the pre-Reformation teaching has a good deal of responsibility. The men of the Reformation were the creatures of the time of Catholic supremacy, and the abuse which is freely and with a certain amount of justice employed in describing their characters has a certain reference to those by whom they were educated. And it is curious that those who had most to do with the dissolution of monasteries were all more or less connected with the religious system of the time. There is not much doubt that as to the religious side of the Reformation most people cared little, they were indeed throughout Henry's reign very little concerned with it. They had long hated the Pope as represented to the ordinary mind by the extortioners of the ecclesiastical courts and the changes in ritual were slight. The survey throws a good deal of indirect light on the state of religious feeling when it was taken as well as being a witness of many acts of sacrilege[1].

[1] Cp. Green, Introd. to vol. II. *Som. Rec. Soc.*

The ffree chapell of Hydall.

One messuage callyd Hydall being within the town of Clyvedon aforesaide with all & singuler landes &c. letten to farme to John Bulbecke for terme of 63 yeres, by Indenture datyd the xijth daye of Marche in the xxvith yere of the reigne of oure late soveraigne lorde, kinge Henry the viijth ...iiij li.

Ther hathe ben neyther incumbent, nor other mynister resident upon the saide ffree chapell syns the date of the foresaide Indenture, but the lessie receyveth the proffectes of the same to his owen use as may appere by the firste booke of Survey of Colleges Chauntries &c.[1]

The chapell of Longelode.

The rentes of the saide chapell with one pece of grounde callyd chapell haye and one litle cotage with one acre of arable lande[2]..... .....xvj d

The chapell of Upton.

The rente of the same chapell[3] ....iiij d

The chapell of Knolle.

The rent of the same chapell[4] .....iiij d

Langporte.

The salarie of too priestes ther callyd fraternitie priestes.

It is presentyd that theis two services have had contynuaunce only at the will & pleasure of the porteryve and commynaltie of the saide Borowe without eny fundacion wherfore the same porteryve and commynaltie make humble peticion that they

[1] *Som. Rec. Soc.* vol. II. p. 83.
[2] *Ib.* p. 110. [3] *Ib.* p. 113. [4] *Ib.* p. 113.

maye be suffered & licenced, to converte the saide stipendes to the reperacions and mayntennance of the Bridge ther whiche is a great bridge of stone with xxx arches beinge the great staye of that towne and all the countrye theraboutes[1].

Pytney.

The chapell is utterly decayde and fallen downe longe ago[2].

The last is a common report.

Of those that occur above as places where the Commissioners thought that the chapels might be used as parish churches with advantage, Knolle was erected into a chapel of Long Sutton[3], but none of the other recommendations seem to have been attended to.

But all this, though it shews a certain decay in religious observances, really hardly touches the religious houses at all. The chapel of the monastery was in all but the greatest houses the chapel of the monks. The people might go occasionally from the district, but the great lesson of the accounts of the churchwardens[4] before referred to is that England was centred in the parish churches and not in the monasteries. Little aid came from monasteries to the village churches in the parishes from which their income was drawn. As a rule they left the church poorer from the system now to be noticed.

We turn to a consequence of the dissolution

[1] *Som. Rec. Soc.* vol. II. p. 115.

[2] *Ib.* p. 140. Cp. *Ib.* pp. 35, 38, 53, 80, 82, 90, 92, 95, &c.

[3] *Lib. Reg.* p. 88.

[4] Published by the Somerset Record Society. Ed. Hobhouse.

for which the religious themselves were in no small measure to blame, and if they had wished to leave a curse to the temporal prosperity of those that should come after them, they could not have devised a more fruitful source of annoyance and poverty than the system of impropriations. Kennet[1] says that the poverty of the country clergy was so great that most of them in Henry the VIII.'s time took to farming, and were very much alarmed when the statute of 21 Hen. VIII. seemed to prevent them from leasing land of the convents any longer. But one finds it difficult to believe this. Kennet was a man with a case to prove, and as far as Somerset is concerned there seems evidence to the contrary from the survey, where the values of the livings are often enumerated. Further we have the evidence of the Valor which shews that the vicar had enough for a single man to live on. Not a large income but more than Kennet would have us believe, or else, in the stagnation period of rent which followed and the small improvement in agriculture, the vicar could never have paid his first-fruits and tenths at all, more particularly as he was deprived by statute of part of a small augmentation often accruing. All the historians of the time consider the parson to have been fairly well off. We find a vicar keeping two curates in the survey. From the valor a vicar would appear to get some six pounds a year, but he often got more than that, and sometimes, as appears from the survey, he had his food or wood as well. Fish laments the wealth

[1] *On Impropriations*, p. 116. Cf. Fuller, *Ch. Hist.* Ed. 1655, p. 283.

rather than poverty of the clerics[1]. In the diocese of Bath and Wells there were 125 rectories appropriated before the dissolution. Most of these were in the hands of the convents, an example of which may be seen in the Taunton accounts, the Austin canons there having the Rectory of Dulverton. But others besides convents were in possession of impropriated rectories before the Reformation. It was a very favourite method of paying a man a salary to make him a non-resident rector of a country living. He put in a vicar and drew the difference between the whole tithe and whatever the vicar had to live upon, generally the small tithe. The chancellor of the diocese, the prebendaries, the archdeacon and others received money in this way; and sometimes laymen. Also when the visitations were in progress and during the troubled years between the various stages of the suppression, the convents in order to bribe or please certain of their friends made grants of rectories to laymen, but the practice was not at all common and was considered illegal. But when the monastic property changed hands a very different state of affairs presented itself. The laity who held land in manors formerly the property of a convent very naturally objected to pay large sums of money amounting in our values almost always[2] to several hundred pounds to other than religious persons, and

[1] See illustration to this chapter. The wills of the Clergy seem to shew a certain amount of prosperity. Cf. Weaver, *Wells Wills*, 10, 21, 28, 32, 37, 42, 54, 66, 82, 84, 91, 94, 152, 163, 188, 203. It is curious to note how much was left to parish churches in these wills, and how little to the monasteries. Cf. p. 125.

[2] See the valor tit. Dioc. Bathon' and Wellen'.

it appears that they did not pay until admonished so to do by the Act of 32 Hen. VIII. on the subject. One computation assigns 3335 as the number of rectories which passed into lay hands[1].

Here all that can be said on the subject is that a wrong was done to the clergy such as has caused poverty and often the necessary consequence of ill living, from the sixteenth century to our own day; a far more grievous wrong was done to the poor whose position might have been considered, and who certainly had some sort of vested interest in the tithe which the very constitution of the monasteries recognized; and further the last chance was lost of shewing some little unselfishness in the disposition of that uttermost farthing which "the gang of coiners and smashers[2]" of the court seemed determined to exact. From that day to this parishes have been impoverished by the paying away of large and now almost unvarying sums of money to persons who have often no other local interests, while the vicar, whose income has certainly not increased with either the demands upon his pocket or the necessities of the parish for which he is thought an ex-officio relieving officer, finds himself very differently situated in 1890 to what he was in 1530. Then he was often a monk, and whether that or not was never rack-rented by the brethren of the convent in paying the great tithe; he had moreover a fair stipend. Now

[1] Kennet, *Improp.* p. 127, quoting from Cleopatra, E. IV.

[2] Rogers. It is certain that there was a great dearth of priests after the Reformation. Strype often alludes to it. See also the remarks of the Speaker of the House of Commons quoted apropos of education. The destruction of the chantries of course led to this.

it is enough to say that he is married, poor, and expected to be a country gentleman, to express what is often the wretchedness of his position.

Every record we have of the customs of mediaeval England points to the fact that it was a very musical period. The English were always great lovers of song. Anything with a tune in it, catches, rounds, solos on the organs, or, if nothing better, bells. Thus they relieved their feelings which then had much fewer ways of escape than in the highly strung times we live in.

We may be quite sure that the monks enjoyed themselves in much the same ways as the rest of the world; no one either demanded or found any special standard of self-denial for the religious above that of Christian men and women around them. It will be remembered how the musical man at Athelney enjoyed peculiar privileges[1], and how at another place the priest of a chantry is praised for being a good singing-man; the choir boys were taught to play on the organs and the simple psalm tunes were learned by all the youth of the district. Music was very much the property of the church in those days. There were no glees[2], the opera had not been invented or revived in Italy. It certainly is true that the music of the orders was greatly enjoyed, as may be seen from the testimony of friends and foes. The singing of the nuns, quotes Fosbrooke[3], was exquisite. Erasmus has a well-known sneer at the elaborateness of the church music of his day. All the most

[1] See the Abbot's list of his debts.

[2] Rockstro, p. 101.

[3] p. 210, a rather spiteful critic. He adds "where they *did* sing."

eminent of the school of contrapuntists wrote almost entirely for the church[1]. The singing[2] was of course slightly different to that we are accustomed to, and the music was of course elementary. Gregorians were universal for the Psalms, a method which required more care than skill, especially as but few chants were used. Rhymed psalms the Reformation period gave birth to, at least they are never found in use before it[3]. Hymns in rhythm but not rhyme were also sung, and to the monks is entirely due the rise of the oratorio. This came clearly from incidental music used at mystery plays and at the various saturnalia which the convents indulged in[4]. But it may be very reasonably doubted whether the parish churches had not a fair share in the honour of musical invention.

After the Reformation hymnology became more common, and was better adapted for the people; singing became congregational, but the sphere of music in the Church became more limited. England also was in musical connection with the continent, and the opera there and the new school of Monteverde there, and its immense popularity must with

[1] Burney, II. 450.

[2] Fish, who grumbles at everything, had no great love for the pre-Reformation Church Music. In the Supplication of the Poore Commons he writes:

'Nowe (i.e. before the dissolution) can we not denye but 'that the outragiouse belowing of a sort of Sodimitical buls, 'myngled with the proud pipyng of organs: is the Service of 'God, and worthy to be preferred before the redyng & preach-'ing of God's worde.'

[3] Rockstro, p. 87.

[4] *Ib.* chap. XII.

the generally laicising effect of the change on all things hitherto regarded as sacred have tended to take music from the cloister to the street[1].

Indeed in England after the Reformation, along with bell-ringing, altars and the like, it is questionable whether music was not among "things superstitious." A contemporary, Case, whose work on "The praise of Musicke" appeared in 1586, thus writes on the subject:—

> Now although there be none but few men so senselesse and blockish by nature, or of disposition so peevish, and waiward, that taking no delight in musick themselves, and measuring the worth and price thereof, by their own affections, do account of it as a thing either vain and unlawful, or idle and unprofitable, yet there be many, who albeit they allow a moderate, and sober use of it in civil matters: do notwithstanding cast it out of the church, as an uncleane thing, and will vouchsafe it no place in the service of God[2].

He then proceeds to shew that it has been used in religious ceremonies for all time, and also that the opinions of those whom he terms 'the doctours,' meaning the fathers, were favourable to church music. He has, as in duty bound, a word as to the monks, of whom he perhaps knew several, as he appears from Wood[3] to have had some Roman Catholic pupils at Oxford.

[1] Rockstro, chap. x. That this was so may be gathered from the small amount of secular music which remains from the pre-Reformation times. Cp. Chappell, *Pop. Mus.* vol. i. pp. 55, 98.

[2] p. 90.

[3] *Ath. Ox.* Ed. Bliss, vol. i. p. 686.

> Now if we consider to what end the custom of singing was used, we shall perceive that it was not so used, as that singing and the sounding of organs, should be a deed meritorious, to obtaine remission of sinnes and life eternall (as the Jewes imagine of their songs, and the heathen of their sonnets) or as the hypocriticall monkes and friers sang their seven canonicall houres that the doing of that work, whether with understanding, or without understanding, it was not materiall yet the bare performance of it should be meritorious for the sinnes of the quicke and the dead: but so, that the Lord might decently be praised, whether with humble and harty prayer, as in the time of heaviness: or with singing of Psalmes, and playing on instrumentes, as in the time of joy and mirth, according to that counsell of the Apostle, If any man bee afflicted let him pray, and if any man be merry let him sing Psalmes[1].

Out of 152 pages in his little book Case devotes 62 to the controversy as to church music, shewing clearly that the spirit of the Reformed Church was opposed to it.

The whole service was made more dreary[2]. It must have been so seeing the war that began

[1] *Praise of Musicke*, p. 134. Cp. the last chapter of answers to objections. It looks as though the bald Reformed Service was not very popular.

[2] A curious poem in the form of a dialogue contrasting the pre-Reformation times with those that followed, and written in the Somerset dialect, appears in Percy's *Reliques*, and has been reprinted by Mrs Boger; but it hardly seems genuinely 16th century.

against all that was beautiful in internal decoration[1]. We have seen that that crusade in Somersetshire became a simple extermination a levelling of all the beautiful monastery chapels and chantries in the county. Who can say that there did not set in a corresponding ebb tide in the value of things religious in the estimation of the laity? A priest became the humdrum rustic that Macaulay has described, droning out once a week his humdrum service. The altar became the "oyster board," the gorgeous processions were exchanged for the sleepy sermon. All this would now, in the days of libraries, theatres and pictures, be thought but little of if the civilization of the people were looked to. But in the latter part of the 16th century it can never be too often repeated the Church and its services were the only elements of beauty which, apart from the enjoyment of natural objects, ever affected the peasant's life. The way was fast prepared for the Eighteenth century when comfort was the key-note of all life including church life, and every aspiration after an artistic life in the English country houses was checked by over-eating, over-drinking and the utter absence of educated taste among any, the high or the low.

From the interior to the exterior is an easy transition. The effects of the dissolution are manifest on architecture as they are on the services of the

[1] In 1548—9, for instance, the Silver Cross was sold at Yatton and the money applied to keep out the sea (*Churchwardens' Accts.* 160. In this volume may be noted the very significant decay of the 'Church-house'). A curious note of the new system appears in the Morebath accounts (*ib.* p. 218).

Church. The perpendicular style culminated during the hundred years preceding the middle of the fifteenth century, and whether it were a consequence or an accident the hundred years that followed witnessed a steady decline in public taste. This of ecclesiastical buildings. The fifteenth century had seen builded all those perpendicular towers which give Somerset an individuality in ecclesiology; they as much as the internal history of the Abbeys themselves are an ample refutation to the charge of architectural slackness which has been brought against the immediately pre-Reformation period. The plenitude of churches was such that after the Reformation none of any importance in the country were erected for at least a hundred years[1]. This was fortunate for Somerset for it was thereby saved from the consequences of that declining taste in matters architectural which has just been alluded to. It seems as though there never was a thoroughly English Renaissance style for churches and hence the weakness and unartistic form of those that do exist. This was probably again due to the fact that so few were required and those few all at once[2] and in one place, so that there was no opportunity for a healthy, slow and national growth to be perfected as in the English Gothic. This will readily account for the difference of the fate of the Renaissance style when employed to domestic architecture and that which it experienced in the few or at least comparatively few country churches to which it was applied. From the perpendicular period to that of

[1] Fergusson, *Hist.* vol. iv. p. 273.

[2] Of course the fire is alluded to.

the Classical revival it may be said that too few churches were built to allow of the forms they took presenting any further charm than can be found in imitative art.

But when we turn to domestic architecture we must speak rather differently. The reign of Elizabeth was a period of transition although there may have been a certain amount of Italian idea even in Henry the Eighth's time[1]. But the domestic perpendicular style may during the last half of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century be said to have been perfected; that is to say as a mode of building comfortable houses. What share then had the monasteries in the transition which slowly passed into the Renaissance? Certainly some credit. All that was best and finest in the domestic architecture of the sixteenth century comes from the fifteenth, and all that is beautiful in a fifteenth century manor house comes directly from the Church. No one outside the orders knew or improved the art of architecture except as they knew or developed the conventual building. Compare the George Inn at Glastonbury or the old part of Brimpton with the priory remains at Muchelney; or again the domestic part of any Somerset manor house with the priory house at Montacute. It will be at once perceived that all that is admirable in the cinquecento comes not from the old castle but from the mediaeval monastery. In fact the introduction of the parlours and the many apartments express a higher civilization,

[1] Fergusson, IV. p. 273. Cp. the illustrations in Turner, *Dom. Arch.*

and the monasteries supplied in this country the earliest idea of a house as differing from a fort.

But with the inspiration, went the power of development. The Church as a foundation disappears, and all the work that it performed as an artistic school of design was at an end. The 'new set' as the abbot of Athelney termed them, were doing a great deal more than they guessed when they took down the abbey roofs, even if some of them had feeling enough to regret the temporary vandalism that their work involved. All domestic architecture in England has taken its highest note from the Church, the great originator of what is beautiful. It is very unfortunate when the conditions are reversed. We shall find as in the eighteenth century that a church must be made, at the expense of carving perhaps, above all things like a comfortable dwelling house, whilst a dwelling house builder will be thrown on to the past for a model instead of continuing a style of his own, with the result of producing a bald Georgian façade, at the best a box of rooms[1].

England felt to the full though at a comparatively late period the literary effects of the revival of learning. In the rude ages the monks were the only learned men and some of them not that. But with the printing press even in its infancy and with the generally awakened interest in learning it passed into the hands of the multitude. It is one of the best things that can be said for the monks that they were not bigotedly opposed to the new movement.

[1] Cp. the splendid chapter of Fergusson, vol. iv. bk. iv. Introd.

The revival of learning at its inception could not be termed anything else than a clerical movement. On the Continent no one was more ready than the abbots to dethrone Thomas Aquinas. But in England the new learning was directly associated with the reformed party[1]. The monasteries were no longer necessary as storehouses for learning nor did they any longer, as they used, keep the archives of great families in their neighbourhood; but they were the academies of their districts and the residences of, taking them all in all, the most leisured and cultivated class in England. Take away Cleeve for example and what a loss you at once inflict on the country gentry of that remote district! No wonder that the country life of the seventeenth century shewed so little improvement on that of the sixteenth, that it was so swinish in many of its details[2].

We must remember again that the monks were the only people who had regular intelligence of what went on at a distance. They were the only travellers in fact. The prior at Bath had a cell in Ireland where he bred the "laners." That must be visited. So too there would be constant intercourse between Dunster and Bath because the latter was a cell of the former. Sometimes a great official of the knights of St John would come down to Templecombe bringing news as to what was going on at the court. The official visitations involved a great deal

[1] Cf. Leyton's memorable letter from Oxford, 'We have set Duns in Bocardo,' alluding to the change the visitors had made in Oxford studies.

[2] Cf. Ireland at the present day.

of journeying and entertaining. The constantly varying numbers too in the houses point to a great deal of going and coming. Once in a way a messenger must go to Rome. Perhaps even the prior himself[1], the journey giving him materials for a lifetime's conversation. From Chaucer's time to Henry VIII. the monk is always one of any assembly of travellers. The friars may have been said to have been professional voyagers, compassing sea and land, 'writing' their way[2] where they could not pray it, and perhaps singing or wrestling for a supper when they could not otherwise get accommodation.

Illustration.

Fish who is a jaundiced witness laments the state of religion in the closing years of Henry's reign but he imputes it mainly to the monks. However all he can find to say against the clergy is that they disapprove of the free reading of the bible and that such as he hears preach occasionally sigh for the days before the dissolution. Fish is not at all consistent in explaining the reason of things, as will have been seen in examining his remarks on

[1] Cp. Browne Willis, II. 196.

[2] Rogers thinks that they transcribed the Court Rolls from the steward's rough notes. The writing on the former is certainly beautiful and in striking contrast to the execrable handwriting of laymen temp. Hen. VIII. But it is merely a legal as contrasted with a lay hand, and hence it seems more probable that the steward wrote his own accounts.

the poor. But that does not make his testimony less valuable where he is bearing witness to the matters of everyday life around him. He has seen the monks go, but he is not satisfied, as the following quotation will evidence. It is directed against the king's chaplains.

> We beseke you (most deare soveraine) even for the hope you have in the redemption by Christ: that you call to remembraunce that dreadfull daye whan your highnesse shall stande before the judgement seat of God in no mor reputation then one of those miserable creatures which do nowe daylye dy in the stretes for lack of theyr dwe portion wherwith you and your nobles do reward those gnatonical elbowhangers your chaplaines. Yf theyr ministrie be so necessarie to your highness that you cannot lacke them: yet let not the unsatiable dogges devour the bread that was prepared for the children let them be appointed lyvinges worthy their ministration. What reason is it that a surveyor of bildinges or landes, an alkmist, or a goldsmith, should be rewarded with benefice upon benefice, which of very reason oughte to be committed to none other but suche as throughe godly lerninge and conversation were able and would apply themselves, &c.

ADDENDA.

I.

Memord. that the collectors of the countie of Somerset haue not this yeare answered nor paied any parte of ther collecc̃ion nor the Receyvo^{r} knoweth who be the collectors nor where to finde theym.

Of the said so$\overline{\text{m}}$e of $^{1}\,\overline{\text{mmxj}}^{li}$ vij^{s} j^{d} ob I will confesse to haue receyued the so$\overline{\text{m}}$e of cccxlv^{li} x^{s} xj^{d} for that I knowe it to be good and suer debte & yett in verey dede I haue receyued no penny therof but trust to doo at this next assieses[1].

II.

The following list was printed[2] by W. De G. Birch from MS. Cotton, Vespasian, A. XVIII. ff. 157—9. It is interesting as having been compiled in the 13th century, and thus shewing how few houses were subsequently founded:

[1] Date 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary. Rec. Gen. Chap. Ho. Box 154, a. 21.

[2] In the Journal of the Archaeological Association, vol. XXVIII. 52. Compare Leach's remarks on the Establishment of Colleges in the Introduction to *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell* (Camp. Soc.) and Mr Walcott on the Cistercians in the Abbey of St Mary, Cleeve.

SUMERSETESYRE.

Episcopatus.	Bathoniæ, Sancti Petri et Pauli	Monachi nigri
Abbatia.	Glastingebery, Sanctæ Mariæ	„ „
„	Ethelingeeya, Sancti Petri et Athelwyni	„ „
„	Muchelneya, Sancti Petri	„ „
Prioratus.	Fareleya, Sanctae Mariae Magdalenæ ...	„ „
„	Bristowe, Sancti Jacobi	„ „ [de Clun'.
„	Stoke, Sancti Andreae	Monachi nigri
„	Keynesham, Sanctae Mariae	Canonici nigri
„	Bristowe, Sancti Augustini	„ „
„	Bekelande.	
„	Tantone, Sancti Petri et Pauli	Moniales nigrae
„	Bearwe, Sanctæ Mariæ et Sancti Ædwini	„ „
„	Canintone, Sanctae Mariæ	„ „
Decanatus.	Welles, Sancti Andreae	Canonici seculares
Prioratus.	Montagu, Sancti Petri et Pauli	Monachi nigri [de Clun'.
Castella.	Tantone, Bristowe, Breggewater.	

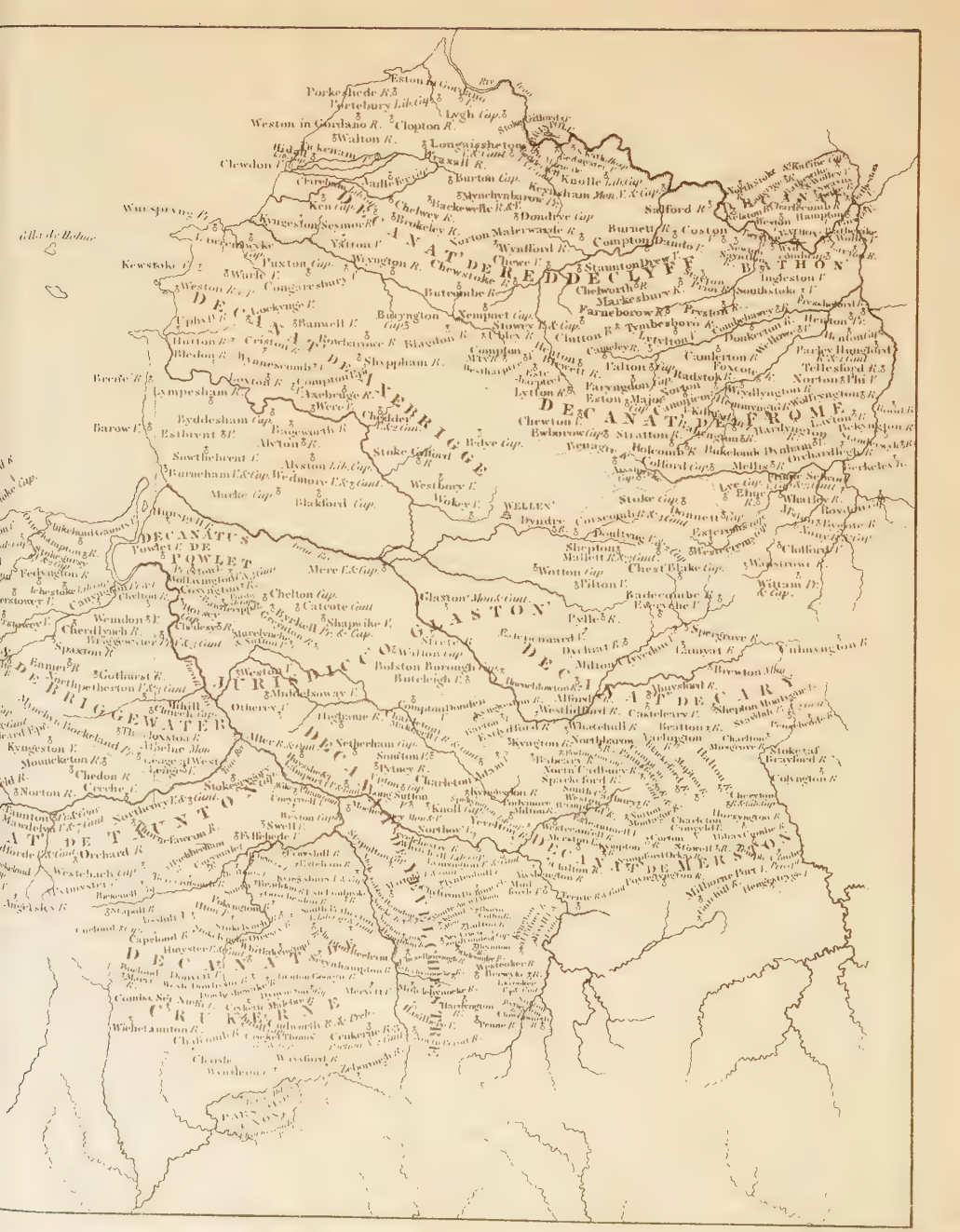
III.

The following references may be useful in considering the monks as cherishers of learning:

Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, 27, &c.
Grose's *Antiq.* Pref. 61—2, vol. 2, p. li.
Soame Jenyns' *Disq. on Several Subjects*, VIII.
Hearne's Pref. to *Adam de Domerham.*
Leland's *Collect.*, Pref. XVII. vol. VI. 77, 83—6, *Itin.* pref. i.
Masters' *Hist. of Corpus Christi Coll. Camb.* 72.
Drake's *Eboracum*, 85.
Bentham's *Ely*, 27.
Hen. Wharton's *Spec. of Errors in Burnet*, 12, 13, 41—8, 66.
Voltaire, *Hist. Gen.* I. p. 99.

To these (which are collected in I think one of the Cole MSS.) may be added Hunter's fragment on Monastic Libraries (mostly based on Leland), and Dr Gasquet's pamphlet on the same subject reprinted from the *Downside Review.*

Mynhed R.
Selworthy R.
Porlocke R. & Vicar.
Lucomb R.
Dunster Pr. & Vicar.
Stoke Pyrs R.
Wotton Courtney
Cutcompton
Tymbercomb R.
Whethycomb R.
Cutcomb R.
Exford R.
Nettlecomb R. & Vicar.
Treborough R.
Lych Cap.
Elworthy R.
Wemmysford R.
Exton R.
Brompton Raff R.
Brompton R. & V.
Clotworthy R.
Huysshe Chantlowre R.
Pitthide Cap.
Berlyche Pr.
Wyllgate & R.
Weeellescomb R.
Halse R.
Brewysford R.
Reddyngton R.
Radigton R.
Kyttesford R.
Stawley & R.
Dashebarrell R.
Milverton R. & Vicar.
Wellington
Sampford Peverell
Bradninch R.
Stockleigh R.
Bagborough R.
Tolland R.
Lydeard Lawrence R.
Catsto
Combe
Fitzhead R.
Halse R.
Oke
Nynehead R.
Thorne
Sampford Arundell R.
EXMOOR FOREST
DUNSTER
DEVONSHIRE



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